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ABSTRACT

This monograph relates the numerous problems involved in developing an experimental community named Lake Village in Kalamazoo, Michigan. Formulated by several psychologists, the experiment is an off-shoot of a conference on alternative communities held in Racine, Wisconsin, in 1966. The community centers around an educational strategy that would rear children from birth and show how their academic, social, and emotional development could be accelerated. Some major problems encountered were conflicts among individuals and cliques, cultural separation of the youth and elders, financial difficulties due to withdrawal of grants and other funding, and difficulty in determining a purpose and meaning of the community satisfactory to all and possible to live by. The original community dissolved from the magnification of tensions; however, another communal group formed around child care needs, developing into a seemingly more stable community. A description of the school, called the Learning Village, is included. It has four divisions: infant program, nursery program, pre-elementary program, and elementary school up to the second grade. In general, the Learning Village program appears successful despite the difficulties experienced. (ND)

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Toward Experimental Living

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Toward Experimental Living[1]

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Portions of this paper were presented at the International Symposium on Behavior Modification in Minneapolis, Minnesota, October 4-6, 1972.

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Probably there have been thousands of groups of people in the history of the world that have sat down together and said, "Let's go off somewhere and do things the way *we* want to." The resulting community if, indeed, it ever does result is going to reflect the characteristics of that original group that had the original idea.

It's a long way from that original "Let's go" statement to achieving a stable, existing community. The community I'm going to tell you about is still in the transition period. Its transition has been an educational experience for me and, I'm sure, for everyone involved. It has forced us to deal with each other in new, and sometimes painful ways. I would predict that any group making a "Let's go" statement will find some pain between the idea and the reality. Their situation may be very different from the one we face in Kalamazoo, but perhaps they can learn something from us. Also, if we manage to survive and grow out of our problems, other groups might feel that, because a group encounters serious problems, the whole effort shouldn't necessarily be abandoned.

So I want to give you today an account of our attempts to start an experimental community in Kalamazoo. This is going to be a very personal narrative. That's why I've put my name on as author. However, I feel that all people mentioned in this paper and in the footnote made an important contribution to the overall effort to move toward experimental living.

THE EARLY GROUP AT WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

I'm going to begin when I came to Western Michigan University in 1965 as Head of the Department of Psychology. I was 34 years old and had served for four years as Chairman of the Department of Psychology at Illinois Wesleyan University. I had before me an opportunity to do some of the things I had felt should be done in a large university psychology department. About a year later, when the dust had settled, I found myself head of a department of psychologists many of whom had a similar, scientific approach to behavior. The department had an apprenticeship program for students that allowed them to develop behaviors and receive reinforcers that are usually postponed until a person leaves the university. Even as

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undergraduates, the students worked in institutions such as schools, hospitals, or homes for the retarded. They took an active part in research and fund raising. They helped teach university courses, presented papers at professional meetings, published papers, and probably earned more money than most students.

I had a laboratory, the Behavior Research and Development Center, in which students and I did research on aggression using monkeys as subjects. Specifically, we were trying to work out some of the relationships between punishment and aggression. I, in concert with Paul Surratt, had begun to serve as a consulting psychologist in the public schools, and Carole Ulrich, Lee Hunt and Marilyn Arnett were working with some children in preschool education. These were beginnings of the educational project that was later to evolve into the Learning Village.

Although many people had helped me get to this point, I was pretty proud of myself and very confident of the abilities of myself, of the people I worked with and of the experimental analysis of behavior. I began to get that initial "Let's go . . ." idea. If we, in a work situation, could accomplish so much, we could probably accomplish much more if we were free to experiment with our own lives.

THE RACINE CONFERENCE

In 1966 I received an invitation to attend a conference in Racine, Wisconsin on experimental communities. I presented a paper at that conference entitled "Expanding the Behavioral Laboratory." Accompanying me on this trip were Neil Kent, Howard Farris, Carole Ulrich, George Hunt, Sharon Hunt, and others.[2] The conference was jointly sponsored by St. Cloud State University in Minnesota and the Johnson Foundation. The individuals mainly responsible for its initiation were William Sheppard and Gerald Mertens. Participants included Fred Skinner, as keynoter, followed by Lloyd Homme, Fred Keller, Jack Michael, Joel Wolfson, Ray Studer, Paul Sullivan, Matthew Israel and myself. In order to give you some of my thinking at least at the time let me repeat some of the things I said:

Certainly no one who goes into psychology can get very far along in his training before he realizes that a dichotomy exists between experimental psychology and applied psychology. Oftentimes it's described as a dichotomy between clinical and experimental psychology; nevertheless there definitely exists within psychology today this kind of a split. Perhaps there were good historical reasons for it, but today we find we must break down the dichotomy if we are to apply the knowledge gained in the experimental laboratory to the prevention of behaviors which seem to be destroying our culture. The behavioral scientist can no longer be either an "applied" person or an experimentalist; he must be both. If he is in basic research he must begin to more often carry his experimental hat with him into the everyday environment. What I want to present today are some ideas for expanding the experimental laboratory into the less controlled environment of our everyday society. We can then start to attack some of our larger cultural problems—e.g. violence, population growth, pollution—with the same vigor that we have used in the experimental laboratory. I believe the place to start is with young children, although you must work through the adult establishment in order to get an opportunity to work with children. We are now in the process, at Western, of developing an experimental community around children.

At that time our efforts with children, as I've mentioned, centered around preschool education. We had also developed a proposal, with the Rayswift Foundation, to establish a home for unwanted children in which we could provide a new kind of "family" environment on a long-term basis. That proposal was never funded, but we are now, in several ways, aiming toward much the same goal. The Racine talk continued:

We want to explore the longitudinal aspects of daily living. What is it that such a community needs? What kind of problems would such a community have? We as researchers and practitioners would, of course, attempt to solve these problems. Things would start initially from working with children in an

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educational setting that will include children of staff members as well as other children from the community. We ourselves would have to interact with the world outside of the community. We could also have to phase the children into the world outside of the community so they could effectively be in that world. We would want them to help direct it one day.

There are, of course, many precedents for working with children—and adults—in applied settings. In early work Watson studied the behavior of little Albert and Fuller operantly conditioned a vegetative human being to make some responses. We are all acquainted with the work of Og Lindsley and Ted Ayllon, who worked in mental hospitals. We saw in this work the transition from studying a single organism in a small chamber to studying several organisms in larger chambers while attempting to maintain as much as possible the same controls that were used in the more simplified environment of the laboratory. The controls usually involve defining some of the responses we are interested in, getting a baseline, introducing certain kinds of changes, and then observing the results.

Most of the applied research done to date has involved people who have problems: psychotics, emotionally disturbed people, mentally retarded children, autistic children, etc. Oftentimes it looks as if we have been pushed into doing things that other people weren't particularly interested in trying, or that other people had given up. We seem to keep stepping into the fray after a problem has been pretty well established, in spite of the fact that we all know that it is much more difficult to change behavior once you have had an organism behaving for a long period of time. For this reason I personally have, for a long time, wanted to see what might be done if we could get children from birth and raise them in a controlled environment, in an environment in which we have been allowed to arrange certain conditions. This, of course, presupposes that we could start to specify in advance what we wanted children to be and then arrange the environmental conditions to produce that kind of behavior. I am sure that this will prove to be more difficult than we may think given the complexity and impermanence of our daily environment. Nevertheless, in such

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a setting we might begin not only to develop exceptional children—but also to discover some of the problems in education which are contributing to our need for so much remediation. This particular idea, like all such things, awaits certain conditions in the environment of the arrangers. I think what we need is more interest in effective human engineering geared toward prevention as opposed to remediation. We need more people who are willing to bring their knowledge to bear upon changing our environment in a way that will promote continued survival. I hope that we will continue to see a willingness at Western Michigan University to move in such a direction as well as a willingness to bring new people to our University who will also want to contribute.

At one time we looked upon the individual organism as being our subject matter. We studied a single rat or a single pigeon in a small chamber over a long period of time. We picked out a particular behavior, got a baseline on it, changed the environment in certain ways, and saw how the behavior of our organism changed. We weren't necessarily interested in the organism; we were interested only in specific responses of that organism. It may be possible, in the future, to consider as our organism entire groups of people. Just as the pigeon was made up of infinite numbers of variables, many of which we were not all that concerned with, we now have a whole group of variables. In a similar way, we now pick out certain responses that we want from this new organism. We might begin by wanting all children to read at least at a certain level. Later we might look at a whole institution as our organism, or a whole department at a university. Again, we define the response in which we are interested, observe it in the same way that we do the behavior of the individual organism, introduce our independent variable and see how our composite organism changes as a function of what we did. We now indeed have an expanded laboratory. A laboratory that could expand until it became a whole community.

I know we are going to have some difficulties, but so what? Things aren't easy now. I think if we can get people who understand the experimental analysis of behavior and who use the

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assumptions of science, working in an experimental community, we can learn much more about how man behaves. In any event, I believe the laboratory is now ready to expand into an experimental community. Certainly we must have the right people and the right conditions in order to bring this about. Most important are the personnel who can get along with one another and, with trust and affection, direct the evolution for an experimental community. I have faith that such a group can evolve at Western."

A little over a year after this conference I returned one Sunday evening from a weekend in Chicago to discover that a concentrated effort was being made by various colleagues within the Department of Psychology to have me dismissed from the headship of the department and from the university. I mention that fact at this point to emphasize the extent to which a person such as myself can behave in such a way that the goals expressed by me at the Racine conference are not readily realizable. I had said that I felt we were ready to use the assumptions of science as a base for experimental living. I had assumed that people who understood how the experimental analysis of behavior works would be sympathetic with an effort to start moving toward an experimental community. I had implied that people were the important variable. I had said, "Most important are the personnel who can get along with one another and, with trust and affection, direct the evolution of an experimental community. I have faith that such a group can evolve at Western.

I had faith, goals, affection, the assumptions of science, a lot of the right people, etc. and notice, in the form of a very serious attempt to "can" me, that I was not being successful at getting 20 people to cooperate with one another in their work-a-day job, let alone in getting them to live together. When your world doesn't behave the way you think it should, you, of course, tend to blame the other fellow. I must admit that at times that feeling has overwhelmed me. In spite of what I know in my head, my insides win out. I'm convinced, however, that the path to extended survival is through the head. What remains in our middle is a history of programming that perhaps once sufficed. Now we must change our be-

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havior and teach ourselves to follow what we know in our heads to be true.

When we are being hassled by people and are in the midst of uncomfortable feelings, we tend to categorize our tormentors as a "they" or "them" as opposed to "we" or "us". But nobody wants to be "them" for very long and besides such distinctions emphasize a polarity which itself tends to promote problems.

In his book, *Remember, Be Here Now*, Richard (Baba Ram Dass) Alpert writes:

> Let us consider an example of the relation of a group called 'hippies' and a group called 'police.' If a 'confrontation' occurs during a protest, what is the result? . . . If the hippies see the police only as 'them' and the police see the hippies only as 'them' . . . then the result is an increase in polarization and distance between the two groups. Each returns to its headquarters and plans an increase in its own strength to overcome 'them.'
>
> Why does the distance increase? Because nobody wants to be 'them.' Everyone wants to be 'us.' And if you meet someone who sees you as 'him' or 'one of them,' that meeting arouses in you all your paranoia and you, in turn, see the other person as 'him' or 'one of them.'
>
> Such cycles get worse and worse until there is violent confrontation. What is the conscious alternative? It is not to avoid protest or confrontation. Rather it is for the participants to become more 'conscious.' And what does that mean? It means that though you may be protesting against someone or some group, you realize that behind the ways in which you differ, you are the same. That is, you understand protest as a form of social communication among US . . . and that 'where it counts' there is only US. Us includes: black and white, young and old, man and woman, American and Russian, rich and poor, saint and rogue.
>
> So the simple rule of conscious participation is: YOU MAY PROTEST IF YOU CAN LOVE THE PERSON YOU ARE PROTESTING AGAINST AS MUCH AS YOU LOVE YOURSELF.

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Certainly communal living requires an effort on the part of all participants to move in the direction of reducing polarization. Doing it, rather than just saying it, remains for most of us the major problem.

In one way or another the Racine conference participants were all known for their interest in experimental communities. We hoped, as the outcome of the conference, to receive from the Johnson Foundation financial assistance which would provide a basis for an experimental community venture. It soon became apparent, however, that there were grave differences in opinion as to the direction that one should take. These differences were dramatically emphasized in the discussions which occurred outside of the formal sessions. The extremes ranged from desires to get enough money to buy land, enclose it and remain as free from the general culture as possible (which I characterized as the "build a stockade fence, close out the world, and grow your own potatoes" approach) to an approach that involved first establishing a group of people in accord one with another who presently reside in the same general area and who have some financial base from which to move gradually toward an alternative community. The second approach was my own. I felt that such individuals, over a number of years, could move more and more closely together in their social interactions while proceeding in a direction that would one day allow for physically gathering together within a community complex. They would maintain close contact with the general culture both by receiving what is "good" from the general culture and by putting back whatever new information was developed by the experimental group. I was convinced that we could not divorce ourselves from the power structure of the general culture but, instead, would have to produce some kind of service or commodity that the general culture needed badly enough to support and hopefully encourage the community's survival. As mentioned before, the approach I was suggesting was to build an experimental community around an educational strategy that would rear children from birth and show how their academic, social, and emotional development could be accelerated. Although many individuals agreed with the gradual, integrated approach to an experimental community, others were strongly opposed. If any conclusion

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was reached at the Racine Conference, it was that we would undoubtedly end up going our separate ways.

At that conference, a National Experimental Community Board was established. After a couple of letters back and forth, what might have been expected to happen did—it folded. Instead, a group closely associated with Kat Kinkade, who had already been running a community in a home in Washington, D. C., went their own way and established Twin Oaks.

At the Racine Conference, there were many actions taken that demonstrated the difficulties involved in starting a community. The people there already were not getting along with one another. Certain individuals from California found it difficult to get along with certain others from the Boston area. A cooperative attitude obviously did not prevail among those who were stressing the necessity for a cooperative venture in the experimental community movement.

In the fall of 1967, after much deliberation and many compromises by many people, it was decided that I would remain at WMU in a position that would allow me more freedom to pursue my interests in research and in the establishment of an early education program that might one day become a basis for an alternative community. The development of a group of individuals who, perhaps, would one day form the basis for an experimental community continued, but now, rather than being made up of faculty members of the Department of Psychology, they were student colleagues associated with me at the Behavior Research and Development Center. My interaction with faculty members of the Department of Psychology became minimal and I turned more and more toward students, who, in spite of a supposed lack of training, more often than not seemed to me to have the vigor and the spirit of exploration needed to pull off what my contemporaries often only discussed. Indeed, it was this group that managed, in spite of rather formidable odds, not only to establish, but to maintain the Learning Village program in Kalamazoo. Because it involved the design of an environment for children and adults, I consider the establishment of the Learning Village a major step toward experimental living.

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THE LEARNING VILLAGE

I'd like to pause here and give you a brief description of the Learning Village. As we'd hoped, it is set up to begin with children when they're as young as two months old. Children stay in the infant program until they're about 2½ years old. Then they move on to the nursery, then to the pre-elementary program, which corresponds roughly with kindergarten, then to the elementary school. At present, the highest grade we teach is second. For financial reasons, we had to eliminate the higher grades and send those children to public school. We hope to be able to stay in touch with their performance.

The staff of the infant nursery has developed a curriculum, which is really a list of behavioral objectives drawn from developmental work such as Gesel's. They also use books such as *Teach Your Baby* (Painter, 1971) and *Baby Learning Through Baby Play* (Gordon, 1970). The staff tries to give the infants short lessons in the morning. They use eatibles for reinforcers. They have also worked out procedures for toilet training and for teaching self-feeding and self-dressing.

There are several reasons why an infant program is a good idea if you want to go into preventive early education. It gives you an opportunity to begin to reinforce desirable behavior before undesirable behavior gets thoroughly established and you have to find ways to remediate it. Although it is no easy task to take care of a dozen infants, the staff is more "on top of things" than most parents. They're better able to be more objective about the children's behavior and to program their own responses to it. Although physically the infant nursery is far from luxurious, it does have play equipment made especially for infants. They can vent their physical energy on it more safely and less destructively than they could at home. There are no cleaning supplies, sewing equipment, or other household items that are dangerous to young children. So the children can play more freely without constantly being hassled by adults not to do this or that.

Another advantage of the infant program is the social environment it provides. Most infants don't have a peer group. If they see

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other children, they're usually their older brothers or sisters. We've found that the infants really enjoy being with other children their own age. It also seems to make them more affectionate and less shy. These children will never have to experience the shock that many go through when they are first sent away from home into a group of children.

In the nursery program, the children have Distar lessons in groups of five or so. The nursery has a token system that uses "chips." The pre-elementary program is similar. Throughout, of course, the teachers continue to reinforce desirable social behavior.

The curriculum of the elementary school is similar to the curriculum of public schools. Some programmed materials are used. The token system in the elementary school is less concrete, using just paper and pencil. Daily cumulative charts are kept of the children's progress through their curriculum materials.

Figures 1 and 2 will give you some idea of the results we've gotten. Figure 1 shows the elementary school children's scores on various achievement tests. Generally, distributions of reading-related scores have a J shape; most kids got very high scores. Math scores are about average. Figure 2 shows the scores of the nursery, pre-elementary and elementary school children on the Vineland Social Maturity Scale. With two exceptions, all children scored above the norm for their age. In many cases the discrepancy is huge.

We don't put a whole lot of faith in standardized tests. We mostly use them to check up on ourselves. As a minimum we'd like children to score above average on standardized tests. However, we don't feel by any means that this is the most important goal of the program. There just aren't too many ways of evaluating a total program that are meaningful to a wide audience.

Generally, we feel the Learning Village program has been very successful. We had a lot of trouble getting it set up, and we've had some financial problems, which I'll talk about later. We've also had occasional problems with interpersonal conflict, and so forth. Things don't work perfectly there, but we do feel we're doing something worthwhile. The success of the Learning Village was one of the things that made me feel our efforts in child care should be expanded.

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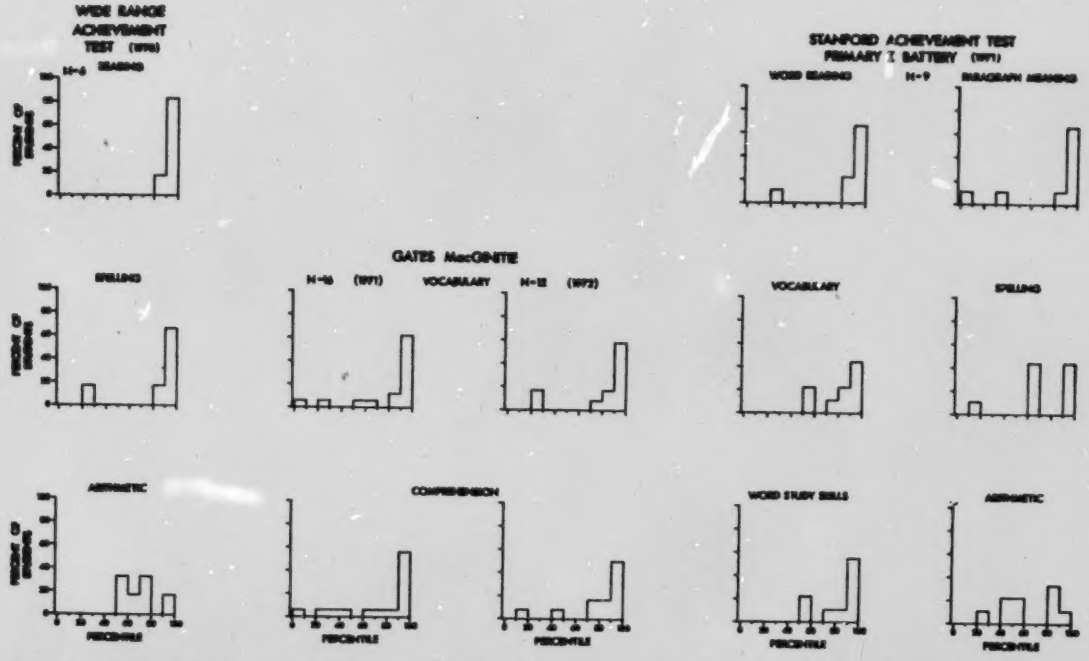

Figure 1. Scores of Learning Village Elementary School children on the following achievement tests: Wide Range Achievement Test, Gates MacGinitie reading test, and the Primary I battery of the Stanford Achievement Test.

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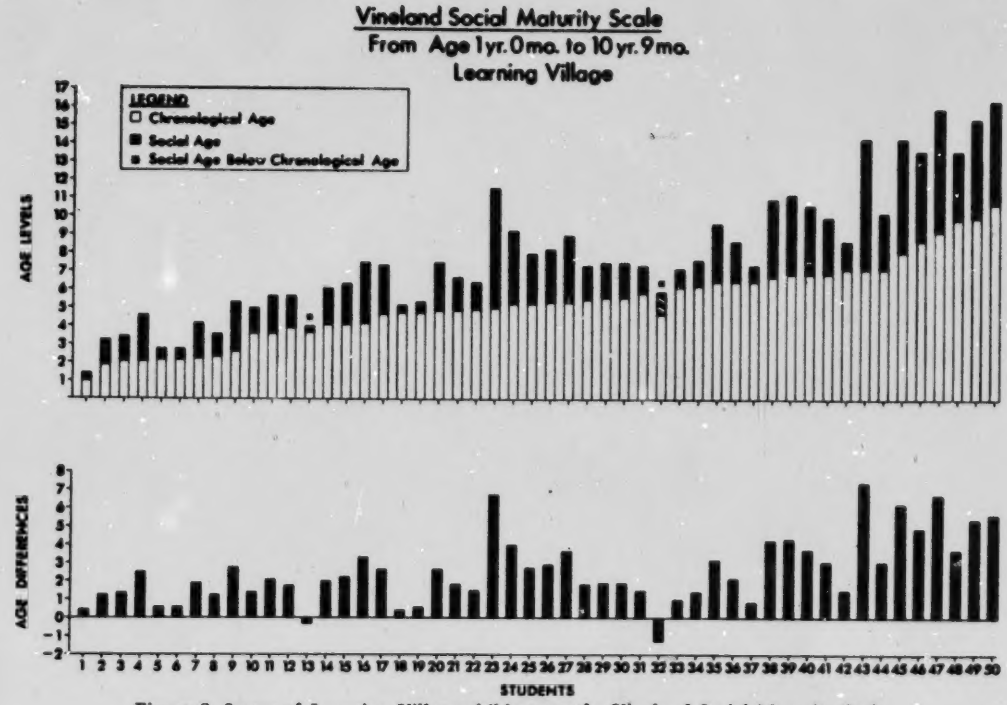

Figure 2. Scores of Learning Village children on the Vineland Social Maturity Scale.

THE INITIAL GROUP

In 1970 the Learning Village was about 2 years old. Basic research at the lab was still underway. The group I was working with at that time was a continuation of the group that had formed at the lab under the apprenticeship program. Many of these people had worked with me for years and taken upon themselves a large amount of responsibility. We had a big budget and varied interests. I certainly couldn't have handled things by myself.

Because of its history, and its current circumstances, the group was informally, but highly stratified. At the top stratum was me, the professor, the fund raiser, and, I thought, the leader. In part society had placed me in that position. Truthfully, I wasn't willing to abdicate for a number of reasons. For one, if I truly abdicated and announced to the university and the funding sources that I now had relatively little to say about the direction of the group, financial support would cease and the whole effort would come to a halt. Second, I guess I felt qualified to be leader since I had some ideas I thought were pretty good. Finally, I guess I just couldn't give some things up. I had worked hard to get the group going and headed on a certain course and I was unwilling to let go. Also, to be honest, at the time I was enjoying some of the fruit of my work in the form of money, material goods, travel, and so forth. I was trying to share these things, but, again, couldn't really give up control.

The next stratum in our society was composed of students who had extensive responsibility in the organization. You might substitute the word "power" for "responsibility." The pattern at the lab had been for new students to come in at relatively low-level jobs. As I and others established more rapport with them and felt that they increased in competence, they took on more responsibility, or power. Although we often preached cooperation, it was a competitive situation. People were keenly aware of their position. I'm afraid I didn't do much to discourage the competitiveness. Perhaps I felt it made people work harder. Perhaps I enjoyed the idea that I was able to confer status on people—that people would compete for status in the organization that I had established.

Another unfortunate aspect was unequal distribution of rein-

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forcers. High status people were paid more and traveled to more conferences and workshops. They formed a clique of sorts and exchanged social reinforcers among themselves, often putting others down. They would arrange our equivalent of "office parties" and encourage other high-status people to come in a way that tended to discourage some low-status people.

The low-status people didn't like the system much, and they sometimes told me that they didn't like it. Even though I was aware of what was going on, I frequently found it difficult or impossible to change what I saw in others and myself.

Although our group had, in a disguised form, many of the evils inherent in a stratified society, it also had many positive aspects. I was far more aware of the positive than the negative aspects. Our group was attempting to deal experimentally with interpersonal relations. We were trying to use more positive reinforcement than aversive control. We were hoping to live a life that allowed more options to interact with one another outside of the usual restrictions, such as those associated with family structure. The behavior deemed appropriate for a spouse, a parent, or a child is more often than not enforced by aversive control techniques. We were hoping to eliminate this aversive control and let our relationships rest on whatever positive experience we had to offer one another. The group also included people from a variety of backgrounds and with a variety of interests. In spite of the underlying stratification these differences seemed to me to be met with more respect and understanding than I had seen in any group with which I had ever before been associated. Although they were heterogenous in comparison to the general culture, they were, in my opinion, homogeneous. Daily I saw examples of tolerance and a love for man which made me feel good.

In addition, we had a non-profit corporation, the Behavior Development Corporation, that was legally responsible for the Learning Village program. The corporation could serve as our legal base. We had local, state and federal support and a great deal of national and international interest in our basic aggression research and our applied educational project at the Learning Village. We hoped, therefore, to obtain some support for our project in experimental living.

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BUYING THE LAND

In 1971, I therefore decided to get in touch with a realtor in hope of acquiring property within the Kalamazoo area. Along with certain other staff members I began looking at property. After looking at several homes, we decided that we wanted a good bit of space. A small living unit may have helped us get an experimental community started, but would not have served our needs for expansion.

One weekend near the middle of spring I learned that Duane Adams, our realtor, had some information on a very desirable parcel of land. Al Sim, who was working as the group's accountant, went to see it and reported that he thought that we had found just what we were looking for. When I returned from out of town the following Monday, I went and looked at the Long Lake property. It was beautiful and, after consulting with Marilyn Arnett, Marshall Wolfe, Al Sim, Carole Ulrich and our attorney Fred Allen, I recommended to the corporation's board of directors (Ron Hutchinson, Carole Ulrich and myself) that we buy the land. For money we used Behavior Development Corporation funds which had been built up over the years for just such a purpose and some borrowed money.

UP AGAINST THE WALL, MOTHER . . .

The immediate response to this move was excitement, but also tremendous concern. A series of community meetings was held among certain members of the group. Controversy within the group grew. Several issues emerged.

Who Will Control?

During this period, I came back to Western from a speaking engagement and was trying to catch up on things. I went in early to the lab, looked at a lot of correspondence, looked at some new reprints and journal articles, made a few telephone calls, and went out to the Learning Village where I chatted with some of the people who worked there. Before long, I ran into a young teacher who said that she'd sure like to talk to me. She related to me a conversation she'd had with Marshall Wolfe that had "bummed her out." Marshall was then associate director of the Behavior Research and

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Development Center. She had asked him who would control the development of the experimental community and Marshall had replied, "the same people who are now controlling the general operation." He had implied to her that the decisions would be made by a few people and that individuals who had the most reinforcers would be likely to control the most behavior. He indicated that it would not be a democracy and that the people who purchased the land and who had worked to acquire the funds to purchase the land would not suddenly give every one of the 45 people in our organization equal say over the distribution of reinforcers and aversives. Marshall even went so far as to name some of the people who tended to get their way within the organization.

Marshall's description of how things were was not particularly satisfying to the teacher. She was not listed as one of the persons getting her way, and she also found Marshall's whole approach offensive. Syd Dulaney and Marilyn Arnett had for years served in a variety of leadership positions at the Behavior Research and Development Center. When they heard of his conversation, they suggested to Marshall that he alter his verbal behavior since it was having an undesirable effect upon some people. I also suggested to Marsh that we perhaps ought to be more careful as to how we described things. So we all got into an argument about Marshall's verbal behavior. I later came to realize that it was not just the verbal behavior that was at issue. In addition, people were competing again.

I also found myself talking to married men and women in our organization who had children and who were concerned about child-rearing practices. I found myself talking to unmarried individuals who had made a commitment never to have children and never to get married, at least in a legal sense. The unmarried people feared that they would be forced to become babysitters for the children of the married people.

Other Issues

I also talked at length with black members of the organization, especially Rick Spates and Alex Luvall. They wanted assurance that the move by the corporation toward an experimental living project would not compromise some of the gains that blacks had made within the organization. I found myself talking to a lot of people,

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all of whom seemed to be a little bit uneasy about the future. What will happen to the existing programs? Will people be expected, in order to get their reinforcers, to more closely adhere to some of the behavioral patterns that you desire, Roger Ulrich? Is it possible that you would sometimes be mildly aversive to persons who were not in any way going along in the direction that you found reinforcing? Might you turn your affections toward certain individuals who behaved in a way that provided reinforcers that were dear to you? Is it indeed possible, Roger Ulrich, that you will continue to behave as a lawful organism, a natural child of a natural universe, determined by the events that surrounded you as you evolved and as you grew and as you now exist? Is it possible, Roger Ulrich, that you will do as you have to do? "Fuck yes," I said to myself. But however much I would like to have said that out loud, I, of course, was unable to do so. Time and time again, I had to go through long verbal dances for everybody concerned, myself included.

A RESPONSE

One of those verbal dances was a statement I was urged to write so that everyone would know where I stood. Here are some of the things I said in that statement:

On Control:

In the initial stages, decisions regarding the community will be made in much the same way as present decisions are made in regard to current BRDC programs, i.e. according to the organization of the Behavior Research and Development Center. Present decision makers will continue to remain in leadership positions as defined by the extent to which their decisions produce desired results and the extent that existing leaders are willing to accept such responsibility. To the extent that certain individuals are demonstrating a capacity for assuming leadership positions while getting respect from others for their efforts, they will be called upon to assume leadership in the future. To the extent that existing leaders are unwilling to devote time or are losing their effectiveness and are no longer

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able to make decisions in ways that seem to contribute to the future advancement of an alternative community, these leaders will be called upon less and less and new leaders will take their place. In short, we live in the present, and wherever we go we are going to get there from where we are now.

For those individuals who are a part of our group and are unhappy about the present structure and fear that they will in the future not be included, it will be their job to work diligently now to shape present leadership (or new leadership) in the direction that they believe things should go. If the reshaping is not done gradually with love, understanding and compassion, it won't work regardless of the high motives. To the extent that someone sees no hope for future happiness and feels that it is in every way impossible to change the direction and behaviors of certain individuals now in control, that person will be so discouraged as to behave in a negative way and thus make himself and others unhappy. Furthermore, the negative approach will guarantee his failure and so his views will not be the ones that predominate. To the extent that someone is more happy, more kind and compassionate he will be more effective as a behavior modifier. A patient and positive approach will produce changes in the present leadership even though those changes might not have been predicted and even though they might be a very dramatic switch in a new direction. Those individuals who are most often associated with controlling the behavior of other individuals through aversive control strategies will more and more often find themselves being escaped and avoided and no longer taken seriously in relation to their credibility as a leader. The paradox however is that we cannot lose touch with those who use aversive methods to get their way because it may be the only strategy left open to them. The have-nots often do not have many reinforcing things to distribute so as to get what they want. (What they want is a bigger share of the positive rewards). Sometimes the exploited are angry and wish things to change so they can exploit the present exploiter. . . .

We now have land on Long Lake. The property cost us $165,000 and required that we put $30,000 down. The organi-

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zation that made the decision to buy this land was the Behavior Development Corporation. It was their funds that we used in the initial purchase and, for the time being, that organization will be responsible for making the payments, which will be $1,000 per month. Those persons who can help us figure out ways in which we can continue to make payments and develop the land in the near future will be very much in demand and very much reinforced for their endeavor. Those persons who show no sympathy for these problems and indeed are bored by them and tend to put down individuals who are concerned with them, will probably not be looked upon as leaders. The person who has a great deal of sympathy and can be of help to the practical individual dealing with the day-to-day things is the person we want. The person who is a practical day-to-day oriented individual who has sympathy for the researcher and theoretician is also someone we want. Let each of us look to his own future and where it will lead us; I for sure don't have the answers. Those who feel they have some, please step forward and with compassion shape me and others down the path they would have us take.

On Children:

The unmarried individuals who do not have children, nor ever want them, are understandably concerned about moving into a community that places as much emphasis on child rearing as we do. Their concerns are linked to the extent that they will be forced (via lack of control) to deal with children more than they might like. It must be emphasized that, for that group, guarantees must be established that would entail proving to their satisfaction that the future does not hold for them a greater interaction with children than they would desire. At the same time, it is difficult to imagine how people who disliked working with children could remain part of an experimental community in which one of the basic purposes is modeling new child rearing practices.

Parents often find that they love their children very much, and these children are not only their legal responsibility, but fun and entertaining as friends. The parents must be assured

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that arbitrary decisions abhorrent to parents would not be made on the part of individuals who behaviorally (both at the verbal level and at the behavioral level) are concerned with children in a much different way. In short, patient negotiations as to where we are going along all these lines have to be carried out and it is not a good idea at this stage to assume that any final decisions have been made or that anything has been worked out concretely. There is no reason to believe that all groups cannot be, nor will not be, allowed to exist symbiotically. . . .

Certainly the extent to which we begin to look at the children as individuals who should be loved for their own sake and should not be dictated to simply because they are smaller, goes almost without saying. In short, as adults, we must more often look to the actual reasons behind our decision making regarding children. Too often we find ourselves, when being asked by a child whether or not something can happen, simply saying 'no' because, historically, that's what happened to us when we asked the question. Children are human beings, they are our friends, and they are the ones who are going to allow us either to have a better or a less comfortable later existence. . . .

I predict a healthier future for innovative educational programs and see our group being of help in this area. We have already been asked to testify on several occasions before Senate committees at both the state and federal level in regard to early education and day care. We are featured in a report to the Secretary of Health Education and Welfare. It is in this area that I think we will have expertise that the current "child-culture" will want. Along these lines, I therefore recommend that we develop a small live-in campus on the Lake Village grounds that would in the future provide a physical plant for continuing programs that would one day extend through the Ph. D. Certainly the Ph. D. is not all that important. We must also be sure that our educational program takes into consideration the development of behavioral skills conducive to man's further survival. This includes attention being paid to teaching children, in addition to math, reading, and other academic skills, a greater appreciation for survival techniques and the people contributing to them. In this regard, we must set up an educational pro-

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gram that places greater emphasis on children learning how to maintain their environment and lives in a positive way; they must be taught food preparation and the maintenance of health standards, etc.

I would anticipate that we would have a nursery set up for group care of infants and another area set up for young children who would have their private living units. This would mean that, at any time parents wanted the opportunity to go off by themselves, their children would be sufficiently surrounded by caring individuals not to come to any harm. Indeed, the prospect of more persons interacting with children in a way that characterizes the interactions of friends is something very much to be desired. Far too often children and parents both are forced to interact with one another and thus develop more as enemies than as friends. I would anticipate that anybody moving into the Village would have a sympathetic understanding of the desire to figure out ways in which children from birth might be treated more as individuals and not quite as much as pawns or property of their genetic or adopted parents. Individuals who want to have children and who want to interact with children more than likely will get all of that interaction that they want, not just with their own children, but with all the children living in the Village. To the extent that parents can behave in a way that positively reinforces appetitive behavior on the part of their children toward them, so that the children very much want to come and visit them, we'll be moving in the right direction. Those who want only a minimum amount of interaction with children will find that the children will want that same amount of interaction with them. To assume that anyone is going to force a child to interact with someone who, in a sense, dislikes children, and does not behave toward children in any desirable way, again would not be following the laws of behavior as we understand them. Individuals whose love of children does not include spending long hours with them will, of course, have other things to offer the Village. If they have nothing to offer, they will be no more likely candidates than anybody else who also has nothing to offer.

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On Distribution of Reinforcers:

Eventually we should move toward a greater equalization of payment for the various tasks that we're all engaged in. The day of one person doing the most undesirable physical labor and receiving the least amount for it must become a thing of the past. We must realize that individuals who are in leadership roles are simply doing a job that is somewhat different than what someone else is doing. In this regard, I would recommend that, as we enter the experimental community, we work toward setting up a financial program of monetary reinforcement that would make many of us come down in salary and others go up.

On Interpersonal Relations:

Perhaps the most important single consideration is that we have individuals who are willing constantly to strive toward modifying the behavior of themselves and others through a strategy of positive reinforcement as opposed to punishment. . . Since I cannot possibly conceive of a world in which there is no punishment of any kind, and since punishment includes the removal of positive reinforcers, it is my opinion that our strategy must more often include ignoring behavior that we don't like and reinforcing behavior that we do like, or perhaps withdrawing positive reinforcement following responses that are deemed undesirable. . . Feedback must be of the nature that lets another person know that we are suggesting a response for the future, not punishing something that has passed. . . .

We must help people be confident that reasons that tradition has taught us are sufficient to remove the friendship of one person for another do not exist within our own group. We must make people confident that many, many, many attempts will be made to specify in advance what is wrong and has to change before any loss of major support would occur. Let us hope that everyone will carefully and sincerely join hands with everyone else so that we no longer participate in behaviors of a 'put-down' nature, that we no longer make responses that do noth-

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ing but hurt the other individual, and in no way help modify their behavior. This holds true for children also. . . .

To the extent that our long range goals include within them a greater effort to spread reinforcers among all individuals we will succeed. Hopefully, we can build into children a state of behavior in which their reinforcers do not preclude the reinforcers of others, so that each time a person gets his reinforcement, that would enhance the reinforcement of another individual. When someone asks what is the major goal of any one individual, I would say that it is to enhance his own reinforcement and get rid of the pain that surrounds his life. I believe that we all are built this way. Unfortunately, we haven't been trained often enough to see to it that our pleasure is not gained at the expense of others. Our pain is often removed only when others receive more. The best way to enhance our personal pleasure and get rid of most pain, I believe, is to enhance personal pleasure and decrease pain among other individuals.

We operate on a continuum between pessimism and optimism. Since both are relative anyhow and since optimism tends more often to make people happy, it would seem that we should be more optimistic. This does not mean a Pollyanna attitude that assumes everything is all right when we are about to fall off a building, but rather a realistic appraisal of what it takes to be happy. When the situation arises and when our conversation can bend either toward a pessimistic note or an optimistic note, it would be better to move in the optimistic direction. Our interactions with individuals should promote togetherness, not divisiveness. When we are talking about other individuals, we should stress how closely we are alike, how much we really do care for one another, and how much we can get along, as opposed to arbitrarily moving in the direction of emphasizing differences. We know that a tight jaw, a frown, tight lips, etc. generally characterize an uptight attitude, and tend to make us unhappy, and escalate the very problem. In this regard, it would pay us more often in our interactions with individuals to breathe a deep breath, hold on a little bit longer, relax, allow the other person a chance to get said what he wants to say, and, before jabbing at him and giving him our

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ideas, listen patiently to what he has to say. We shouldn't look at his ideas as being bad, but, rather listen to them and maybe discover that they weren't so bad after all—that it was just another idea—perhaps something out of which we could get some good. All of us should more often marry our verbal behavior with our daily actions. . . We talk of positive reinforcement following a response we like and we talk of shaping behavior by using positives when some small step is made in the right direction. This is something that we have to do. . . . We must more often build up the behavior of our fellow man rather than tear it down. We must move much farther on a continuum between frown and smile toward the smile. We must realize that different individuals have different reinforcers and we must respect them, often-times even considering the possibility of engaging in the other person's reinforcing activities for a while, for no other reason than to maybe discover that their reinforcers aren't so bad after all. We must set the occasions for doing away with some of the unrealistic paranoia that now sucks at our system. We must really begin to believe that Man and his behavior is determined and that he does the only thing that he can do. We can no longer blame the individual as if he jumped out of the womb and willed to behave in a way which is now uncomfortable to us. We must modify our own aggressive counter-reaction. We will find in the long run that this strategy will more than likely get us further toward happy interactions with our fellow man than anything we've ever run into before. We talk a lot about loving, yet our verbal behavior often carries with it the sounds of hate. Let us all help one another become more consistent in our day to day interactions, so that we truly come to the place where we constantly behave as if we love our fellow man.

On Homogeneity and Heterogeneity:

The experimental community must include human beings who are homogeneous along certain very critical dimensions. It must include individuals whose basic assumptions are that behavior has reasons, that behavior is a natural phenomenon just like other natural events, that we are lawfully operating

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organisms doing what we have to do as part of a more general universe of realities. . . . The homogeneity requires that we also have a proper respect for data and how to gather it. . . . Above all the homogeneity requires individuals with great tolerance. When we find ourselves intolerant of the actions of others within the group, we must be willing to try and alter our own and one another's actions as best as possible. . . .

In the long run, after we have established a core crew, I believe that it would be important for us to add to our group certain individuals whose views are perhaps even more different than are the views of certain individuals now interacting among us. Part of the more general culture's problem is the extent to which there is no communication between the young and the old, between the blacks and the whites, especially between ghetto blacks and well-to-do whites. At the present time, there is no program in existence that shows how to overcome this. I think that we must definitely move in a direction which might show how this could be overcome.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The community meetings continued to be held. One result from them was a questionnaire. Galen Alessi, Marilyn Arnett, Susan Steiner and others (see note 2) designed the questionnaire and compiled the results. Most of the questionnaire and the results are given in Appendix A.

One of the most interesting items in the questionnaire is item number 3. It asks respondents to indicate whether each listed item should be owned by individuals, by family groups, by the community at large, or by any combination of these. One striking thing is the hedonism of the list. Relatively few items—tools, workshop, truck, utility room, kitchen—pertain to work. Items that are used by adults to have fun are listed in detail: three kinds of cars, two kinds of boats, three kinds of audiovisual equipment, etc. Items reinforcing to children are lumped under the heading, "toys". If children had made up the list it would look quite different. There would probably be a single heading for "vehicles," but one would

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have an opportunity to decide on the ownership of baseball cards, slot car sets, doll houses, etc.

An interesting picture emerges if you total, for each item, the number of people that thought that, at least in some cases, it should be owned by individuals or by family groups. Table 1 shows the

TABLE I

Total of respondents marking g, i, ci, gi, or cgi for each item on question 3 of the questionnaire. Items have been ranked by totals and divided into quartiles.

stereo	24	
records	23	
clothing	21	
bedrooms	21	
furniture	18	
radio	17	
motor cycle	16	
telephone	16	
T. V.	16	Q. 1
musical inst.	15	
kitchen	14	
study/den.	13	
livingroom	13	
sport car	13	
bicycle	12	
toys	12	
food	12	Q. 2
compact car	11	
tools	9	
standard car	8	
dwelling	6	
land	5	
motor boat	5	
sail boat	5	
library	3	Q. 3
utility room	2	
pickup truck	2	
rec. equip.	2	
garage	1	
rec. room	1	
art studio	1	
workshop	0	Q. 4

items rank ordered by total and roughly divided into quartiles. The first quartile contains the items that people in their early twenties consider most important in their lives. Similarly, the second quartile contains items that older people with children would probably consider most important. The third quartile contains relatively uninteresting necessities and luxuries that are not of high priority. The fourth quartile, we can speculate, contains items that are of

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relatively low importance to people. The fourth quartile includes the utility room, the truck, and the workshop. The ranking suggests, first, that people are least willing to submit to community ownership those things they love most dearly. If we accept this suggestion, the ranking also reflects that work items are relatively unimportant to respondents, in comparison with recreational items. If we imagine the behavior of people using the first quartile items, we see them sitting around in their bedrooms listening to their stereo or watching TV, occasionally going out to ride their motorcycles. As Robert Houriet points out in his book *Getting Back Together* (1972), when members engage in this sort of behavior to the exclusion of all other, the termination of a community is imminent. Similarly, the picture we draw from the second quartile is of the typical upper-middle-class suburban family in which Dad drives home in his sports car, overeats with his family and retires to his den. The third and fourth quartile supply the items we need if we are to draw a picture of people driving unglamorous vehicles for mundane purposes, of people repairing things, of people washing clothes, of people, perhaps, farming the land.

The above is in no way meant to criticize the individuals who made up the questionnaire. They did enjoy the things they said they enjoyed. That was the way they were living at the time. In fact, it was the way everyone in the group was living. Although the toys varied from person to person, we all liked to play and thought our toys were important. In fact, I was one of the worst offenders. Perhaps, after that group moved out to the farm, they would begin to consider trucks and workshops most important. However, that item on the questionnaire did not portend too well for the success of the community.

Items number 6 to 8 give a mean estimated housing expense of $19,558 per person, not exactly a Spartan figure.

Item number 9 deals with exclusion. Quite a few suggested excluding people who did not live on the premises, a definitional problem, really. Seven or eight respondents would exclude people on the basis of "life style" or "political ideology" and nine would exclude the unhealthy (one presumes). Since there was a total of 28 respondents, the number of "exclusionist" responses was not large.

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Items 10 and 11 deal with exchange of services. To make comparison easier, Table II compares directly the number of people wishing to receive and the number of people able to give each service. The biggest and most consistent disparities are in those services that require skill and experience, such as the "building trades" and

TABLE II

Services respondents indicated they would be willing to give and would like to receive.

GIVE	*SERVICES*	*RECEIVE*
13	child care	13
9	cleaning (inside)	21
12	inside handy work	15
15	food preparation	16
17	management	19
11	building	16
3	plumbing	21
5	electrical	19
8	rough carpentry	16
16	painting	13
5	masonry	14
7	mechanics	19
18	teaching	15
12	farming	13
12	grounds keeping	18
8	recreational supervisor	13
2	medical services	21
0	legal services	22
173		304

"professions". Other communities have experienced the same shortages. However, most of these are not continuing needs, and a few plumbers, electricians and nurses would probably be able to service the entire community. One continuing disparity is in inside cleaning. The questionnaire confirms the contention of the women's

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liberation movement that women are traditionally assigned least desirable tasks. Everyone can clean; relatively few volunteer. In all, a total of 173 services were offered and a total of 304 desired. This disparity may reflect selfishness or it may reflect a fact that, in our specialized society, each person develops relatively few skills but continues to need a wide variety of services. Since some specialized work is available and many items are balanced, one would guess that a community made up of the respondents would not experience a labor shortage. The mean of eleven hours per week of work may be a little low, but it is probably not unreasonable. Work done in the community is in addition to ordinary work in the "outside" world.

Items 15 and 16 deal with control of the behavior of members. Most people felt that community work assignments and community facilities should be controlled. About half felt that aversive social behavior between non-related members should be controlled. Few voted for control in other areas. Methods suggested reflect some willingness to use contingencies. There is substantial support for using privileges and money to consequate behavior. The most popular means of control, however, is verbal feedback.

Items 19 through 21 deal with decision making. A strong preference for democracy comes through. Specialization is supported.

In item number 35, respondents were asked to indicate on a continuum the degree to which they felt behavior and property should be controlled by the community. The resulting distribution of responses shows that people, verbally at least, leaned toward community control. Respondents were also asked to indicate on a continuum the importance of various kinds of privacy. The resulting distributions show that a substantial number felt privacy was important.

Few of the people who filled out the questionnaire are still participating in the community. Therefore the results of the questionnaire have little or nothing to do with where the community is now going. They do indicate what a group of behavioral psychologists who express interest in a community are likely to say about their expectations. A questionnaire such as this can be useful even though it has problems common to questionnaires. It gives the group some notion of where to start. For example, a group that expresses a

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strong interest in privacy would be foolish to begin by building large common sleeping and social rooms, even if they feel that communities *should* begin that way and that private quarters lead to possessiveness.

UP AGAINST THE WALL, CONTINUED (OR, WHO, ME?)

Although the questionnaire was a constructive step, it did nothing to reduce the more serious problems, such as the conflicts among individuals and cliques. Regardless of the questionnaire, individuals had decided whom they would like to live with and whom they would not like to live with. A schism developed and widened between the younger members and the older, married members. Verbal barbs were exchanged. Marshall was called a fascist because he had more reinforcers of his own and more to say about dispensing the group's reinforcers. Because the establishment, by definition, controls the reinforcers, Marshall had become the establishment. Marshall had spent years fighting his own establishment and was upset to find himself referred to derogatorily as an administrator or politician or capitalist or fascist.

However, when people in their 20's talked about sharing with younger children, the anti-fascists became the fascists. If you are a 10-year-old child, you probably feel at times that all people from 11 through 80 are fascists. Its all relative. Liz Hern, when she was four years old, hated to go to bed. It got to be a problem for the people taking care of her. One time when I was "in charge" she refused so I just turned out all the lights. She yelled for a while but soon went to bed.

Often we adults would get together and talk about how clever we were in getting kids to do what we wanted. Then later we would moan about administrators who cut the funds of project directors that don't behave in a certain way.

The resentment against Marshall was one of the problems that came from trying to build our community directly from our research organization. Marshall had worked with me for years and I had felt his work was worthwhile. I wanted to consequate his work as heads of organizations everywhere consequate work: with money

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and responsibility. Because this is the way work situations are generally run, people were fairly willing to accept Marshall's position at work. However, when the situation was transferred to "everyday life," it didn't seem fair. If everyone was to be a member of the community, why did Marshall have more than others? Marshall, for his part, was unwilling to give up what he had achieved.

I also had been dubbed "establishment." I received each month a large check from WMU. I also received money from films and books and speaking engagements. I owned a large home. I shared these reinforcers selectively with certain people in the organization even though I wasn't all that aware that I was doing so. Although I had delegated considerable responsibility, I, ultimately, had final say on what happened within the organization. Society had made me an autocrat. Again, at work, people were willing more or less to accept my decisions. However, they did not want my autocracy to be transferred to their personal lives.

As Marshall came more and more under attack, I supported him more and more. This drew some of the fire onto me. I didn't like my position any better than Marshall did his.

Another problem was cultural. I have already mentioned a growing rift between younger and older people. (The "younger" ranged in age from 20 to 27, and the "older" from 29 to 40.) The younger people wore old clothes, especially blue jeans, the more rips and patches the better. The older people didn't exactly dress in grey flannel suits, nor did they all buy new clothes, but the clothes they wore seemed "straight" to the younger people. One of the younger men had a vasectomy before he had any children. Several of the older men also had vasectomies, but they already had children. All of these men felt they should do something about contraception, and all of them did. Nevertheless, the younger people stressed the differences rather than the similarities.

Several older women in our group had children. They had all wanted no more than two children, although some had three accidentally. They loved their children and had devoted large amounts of time and energy to their upbringing. Many of the younger women in the group had decided never to have children. They talked of getting sterilized and since then, one has gotten sterilized.

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In many ways, the older people in the group were far more like the younger people's ideal than most people in their 30's or 40's. On the other hand, the young people were fighting hard against years of cultural conditioning in order to bring their own behavior even closer to their ideal. It was difficult for them, under those circumstances, to accept the behavior of the older group even when it was to a large extent in line with the younger people's ideal. This inability of the younger group to accept successive approximations, in turn, produced a reaction in the older group.

We were, by society's standards, relatively homogeneous. We had the facilities we needed to start a community that we hoped would help teach others how to live in peace, cooperation and love. Yet we were fighting bitterly amongst ourselves.

THE FINANCIAL CRISIS

Things were bad, but they were going to get worse. In the spring of 1971, certain agencies in the State of Michigan decided to fund the Learning Village project no longer. In July some other grants ceased. Also, the intermediate school district not only did not give us $20,000 in addition to the $20,000 we had been receiving, but took the entire $40,000 away. Furthermore, we did not receive again a gift of $25,000 that had been matched three-to-one and had brought in $100,000. When the final count was taken we were $250,000 short of what we had anticipated.

Marshall had been in charge of fund raising. He had thought everything was cool. It was June, 1971 before I began to realize that a financial crisis was in the offing. For several months each new bit of information about our budget brought with it a message that things were worse than I had even anticipated two weeks before.

Under the circumstances, the people in the organization behaved admirably. Most were willing to make sacrifices so that as few people as possible would lose their jobs. A meeting was held at which each person indicated in writing the absolute minimum amount he or she needed to live on. On the basis of this information, Marshall Wolfe, Alex Luvall, Marilyn Arnett and I decided what cuts would

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be made. The pay of the remaining people was reduced to the level they had indicated. Approximately 15 people were laid off and a few others quit.

Many of the people who were laid off were the younger people. In some cases, the older people had been with the program longer. They had a deeper commitment in terms of having children in the program. The program directors at the Village in many cases felt the older people were more reliable in matters such as coming to work on time. Some of the older people did not take as drastic a pay cut as some of the younger people. They had houses, debts and children and felt they could give up less. (On the other hand, some of the older people had savings or outside incomes and decided to work for nothing.)

In any event things became more and more strained. People were hurting, and they tended to strike out at others. Thus, the onslaught against the leaders was intensified. Often I was made to feel like a little kid who had pushed over a vase, or crapped in my pants, or put a dent in the family car. I had fucked up and the world was telling me about it. I too was hurting and so tended to hurt others. The exchange of hurts accelerated and continued until individuals began to put more distance between themselves and others.

I had been through many conflicts in the course of expanding the department at Western, moving out into the public schools, setting up the Learning Village, and so forth. Nothing came anywhere near the conflict over the community in intensity, persistency, and overall painfulness.

A CONSTRUCTIVE STEP

In spite of the conflict, we held onto the property. Although the payments were $1,000 per month, that amount was very small compared to the payroll. Retrieving our $30,000 downpayment would have kept us going for a month and a half longer. Then the same personnel cuts would have to be made and we would be without the property. Carole and I refinanced our house to help meet the payments and we kept on going.

One of the teachers at the Village, Carmen Hren, is married to a farm technician who works for Upjohn. Rob Hren had been an

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agriculture major at Western and was very turned on about having farm land to work with. He decided to keep his job with Upjohn but, with Carm and their two kids, to move onto the property and develop it.

Again, some of the younger people objected. They felt that the house on the property should be turned into a commune-type dwelling for housing the younger people. The fact that we were turning the house over to a family indicated to them that we were moving in a conservative direction. In fact, Carmen and Rob were the only individuals that had presented what seemed to me like a feasible plan. The house on the property needed extensive remodeling and they had volunteered. In addition, Rob had many welcome suggestions for using the land to generate money that would help meet the payments. Finally, after many many people young and old together put much work into the house, the Hrens moved in. Jim Scherrer, one of the younger people, also moved into one of the rooms in the house.

During this time, meetings continued to be held. Initially an elected committee met, made up of Galen Alessi, Marilyn Arnett, Carole Ulrich, Jim Scherrer, and Carmen Hren. Galen Alessi, Carole Ulrich, Rob Hren and Shanna Goldiamond made a trip to Twin Oaks. Architects were invited to several meetings, but they became discouraged by the lack of consensus. They couldn't design if we couldn't tell them what we wanted. Also they may have been discouraged by our lack of money. Most of the discussions at the meetings were theoretical.

THE SNOWMOBILE ISSUE

There was little concrete to discuss at the meetings until winter, when Rob Hren purchased a snowmobile. Many members had begun to realize that one of the purposes of the community should be to model ecologically sound ways of living. Ecologists, to put it mildly, don't think much of snowmobiles. They are noisy and frighten animals. If used extensively over a field, they can wipe out its population of small animals. They pack down snow and change things for plants and animals below. In addition, they can cause back injuries.

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On the other hand, some people had been coming out to the property and having a lot of fun riding the snowmobile. They did not crisscross the fields, but rode up by the house and on specific trails. They undoubtedly did some damage, but they felt it was slight. Furthermore, Rob and Carmen had done far more work on the property than anyone else. They couldn't help feeling that the others were showing up when it was time to criticize, but not when it was time to work. Also, Rob (and anyone who reads the questionnaire results) had noticed that motorcycles, including trail bikes, were not exactly unpopular. Motorcycles shared many of the problems inherent in snowmobiles. Many members liked to water ski behind motorboats that spilled oil into the water, and noise and exhaust fumes into the air. Now, all of a sudden, snowmobiles were bad.

A meeting was held. The Anti-Snowmobile people (AS's) presented what data they had found on the effect of snowmobiles on ecology. It turned out that the data they had found were not all that hard. Studies weren't all that well conducted. Many of the objections to snowmobiles were, as yet, documented only by common sense. Also, it was possible that, by using snowmobiles only in certain ways, environmental damage could be kept to a minimal level and people could still use the snowmobile.

Nevertheless, the AS's argued, it is up to us to model for the world. One snowmobile doesn't do much damage, but all the affluent Americans running their snowmobiles do. If we used a snowmobile, it would be difficult for us to argue for good ecological behavior.

The AS's also held that they were not simply against snowmobiles. They also wanted to give up all recreational vehicles that used combustion engines—motorcycles, motorboats, ATV's, etc. In order to make sure that a stand had been taken on this principle, I asked that a separate vote be taken on each type of vehicle. The votes were taken and all vehicles except motorboats were voted down.

That's the way the meeting looked to me. Another meeting followed that was more or less a free-for-all. Jim, one of the AS's, was Community Chairman at the time of these meetings. This is the way the meetings looked to him:

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The first meeting was called by myself and was precipitated by the purchase of a snowmobile by Rob Hren. I called the meeting to discuss whether the community wanted to use the land for this purpose. The main point on the agenda for that meeting was about the purchase of the snowmobile. The wording on the agenda didn't have to do exclusively with snowmobiles; it had to do with the use of all-terrain vehicles on the land and on the lake. The vehicles included in this discussion were snowmobiles, motorcycles, four-wheel-drive vehicles such as jeeps, cars, boats or, in general, any motorized vehicles on the Long Lake property and lake.

There was a very long, emotionally charged, discussion at the first meeting about this issue. There were two sides. [Those of us who were against snowmobiles] presented some data from a Michigan State symposium on the use of all-terrain vehicles. It was primarily concerned with the use of the snowmobile and the use of motorcycles on sandy areas such as beaches, etc., and on the woods and trails, too. We were arguing to ban the use of these things at Long Lake. Some of the arguments against the use of the snowmobiles included the noise, the driving of the animals off the land, the killing of some animals, the killing of the vegetation that grew on the land, the changing of the temperature of the ecological terrain on the land by packing of snow. The temperatures affected the hibernation habits of certain animals.

To summarize that stand:

1. Vehicles powered by internal combustion engines have a harmful effect on the environment. These vehicles cause air pollution. They also cause other types of changes as presented in the Michigan State symposium. Even though the studies from the symposium were discounted on a variety of grounds (either by saying that the study was poorly designed or it didn't apply to us at Long Lake), this first argument stands up. Air pollution is primarily caused by the internal combustion engine and snowmobiles are run by those and thus contribute to air pollution.

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2. The community, as an alternative living environment, should have a non-pollution policy, i.e., an underlying assumption for this community would be not to pollute the environment. We should, whenever possible, cut down on noise pollution, water pollution, driving out of wild-life, and air pollution.

3. The community should model a non-pollution policy for the kids to show them that the environment is much more important than personal pleasures. We talk about modeling non-aggressive acts for children so that we won't raise aggressive kids and perpetuate a violent system that doesn't work. Similarly, we can teach kids how to care for their environment by modeling that very thing.

4. We should preserve the different types of ecological areas there are in the land and conserve it most efficiently without wrecking any part of it.

The counter-argument was put forth [mainly by] Roger, Marshall, and (part of the time) Rob. The argument from this group was (and this is my analysis) based mostly on countering the arguments of the Michigan State symposium for the reasons stated above. Marsh talked somewhat about freedom and the extent to which decisions of the Community Committee could preclude certain freedoms of people living there—freedoms such as buying things they want to buy without having any controls on them. It was verbalized that, if a lot of these controls were put on people, the community would be a less appealing place to live. Another argument stated that it wasn't fair to start a policy after Rob had already purchased a snowmobile and already owned a motorbike (that was used extensively by myself and others back then).

[The pro-snowmobile people] were talking mostly about the withdrawing of these reinforcers, instead of giving consideration to the concept of setting up a model community and designing out polluting behaviors. The point was to make the Long Lake Community an alternative along ecological lines to what big cities are doing. That's where the main misunderstanding lay.

As I saw it, those were the main points on both sides, and I

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admit that I'm pretty biased because I feel very strongly for one way and very strongly against the other way.

At the first meeting I made a motion to vote to have a non-pollution policy. In other words, to ban all the all-terrain vehicles from the Long Lake property. Roger made a point that he didn't want to group them all together. He wanted to vote on each vehicle separately. I felt we shouldn't do that. The consensus of the group was that, since people were going to vote anyway, it didn't make any difference which way we voted. In other words, we voted for individual vehicles.

The community voted to ban the snowmobiles on the land and on Long Lake. They voted to ban the use of motorcycles and all-terrain vehicles on the land and on Long Lake. They voted not to ban motorboats from the Lake.

Now, that was pretty much what I'd feared. I wanted to vote for one basic issue, because that was all that was important. It didn't matter to me about the different vehicles or reinforcers we could categorize in a polluting class. I was going for a policy and, at the first meeting, I didn't get that at all. By not voting *all* polluting things off the land, we didn't have a pollution policy. That was our main problem.

At the second meeting, we repeated the discussion that I just summarized above. It lasted a couple of hours and was pretty aversive. The following policy was voted on with the following results:

The recreational use of vehicles powered by an internal combustion engine was banned on Long Lake and the Long Lake property. The vote was 8 to 6 in favor of banning these vehicles. It was at that meeting that *there was a policy established.* That's sort of the way I saw it and, with that, I'll end this report.

At first, I felt that the meetings in which the snowmobile issue was discussed had been profitable. However, I had failed to estimate the extent to which face-to-face confrontation was aversive to some people. People were seen as polarized on one "side" or the other. Actually, even at the first meeting, some of the people seen as pro-

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snowmobiles voted to ban all vehicles. I did question the validity of some of the snowmobile studies, but I basically agreed that they, and other similar vehicles, should not be used. All of us should have learned from the incident that, just because somebody questions someone else further about a particular bit of data or a particular way of looking at things, that person is not necessarily in total disagreement. A good example of how confusing things became was Jim's point that I didn't want to group all vehicles together. Both of us wanted to get at the same principle: that all recreational vehicles with internal combustion engines should be banned. I wanted to be sure that people who I knew liked to water ski and ride motorcycles were as willing to give them up as they were to see Rob give up his snowmobile. Jim also wanted to make sure that people he knew liked to water ski, ride motorcycles and ride snowmobiles were willing to give up all those things in order to live by a sound principle. Jim was made to feel that people disagreed with him, in spite of the fact that he eventually won on all counts.

Nevertheless the meetings had a very negative effect. At the next meeting Jim resigned as Community Chairman. A number of the AS people refused to attend any more meetings. These are the notes Jim spoke from when he resigned and turned in to the committee following his resignation:

I. There are two basic directions in which different groups of people at these meetings have indicated an interest.
   A. A place where people can live close to friends and use the land for construction, etc. as they see fit.
   B. A place to create a workable alternative to the city and a capitalistic society. A place where money can be pooled and reinforcers determined by the group.

II. This difference of opinion has caused what I see as one of the biggest problems the B.D.C. has ever been faced with.
   A. I see it as the source of many 'bad feelings' in the community as well as the coordinating committee group.
      1. Aversive interactions have increased.
      2. Many people are upset to a point where they really

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have to watch what they say around the almighty them.

3. Morale in the administration is at the lowest point that I have observed in the 3 years that I have been here.
4. It has brought much criticism of people on both sides—much of it unjustified in my eyes. Marsh, Roger and Rob are the main targets.

III. I met with Marsh yesterday and . . .

A. He called for more support for Roger and his goals. I agreed with that statement. . . . and I feel that the sooner he gets that support or at least the withdrawal of all aversives (anti-support) the sooner this B.D.C. group will unify again.

B. I am majorly responsible for much of the dissent in this group. I got together and mobilized a campaign for a pollution policy and as a result many bad feelings and high emotional discussions took place.

1. Rob was hit hardest by this. A couple of his most powerful reinforcers were taken away. Rob is the person doing the most work at maintaining the land and to my knowledge is the only person I know who could do this. This wasn't fair.
2. Marshall said yesterday and Roger has verbalized to me in the past that, if this committee put too many restrictions on him or limits on their reinforcers, that he would not hesitate to buy more land and do on it what he likes, withdrawing financial support for this project. These things cannot happen!

IV. There have been instances in which Marshall has been under fire for verbalizing what he wants at the Lake—unfairly at times.

A. To a point where he feels guilty about some of the things he wants. He can only say some of these things in front of certain people.

B. I feel very bad about that.

V. I feel that this community will succeed in one and only

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one way—we must move in the direction that will make Roger, Marshall and Rob very happy. They are the major source of financial input and therefore the major amount of control must be there. I do not criticize anyone for acting that way. That is the way the real world operates.

VI. I feel very strongly that it is not fair for me to push my ideals for a non-capitalistic experimental community on you or attempt to undermine in any way the direction Roger and Marshall want to take.

A. I have, more than anything else, impeded the direction this community must go if it is to succeed. My goals are contrary to yours and I may have moved the development of this community backwards and therefore have wasted developing time for this community.

VII. For the reasons that I just stated, I am resigning the position of Community Coordinator. I feel that this will have nothing but good effects on the corporation morale. I really dig all the people interested in this, and I'm sure this move is in the best interest of the B.D.C. I think that people will be freer to discuss development issues out here much more comfortably with me stepping down. Needless to say, a great deal of thought has gone into this decision and I hope you all understand it.

The people who stopped attending meetings also wrote out some reasons.

One person said, "(1) Emotionalistic interactions between people are aversive; (2) The middle class attitudes presented by people with money and control would prevail over any objections on my part, regardless of data presented by anyone for either side."

Another said, "I impede more than aid in the ultimate direction in which the community will take. Besides being contraproductive, [disagreement] creates bad feelings which I would like to avoid and eliminate for all concerned."

Two others gave their reasons as, "(1) Condescending attitudes toward *real ecology* as defined by not only conserving, but replacing whatever has already been stolen. The 115 acres can serve at least

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symbolically as a model. (2) The community effort has become too detrimental to the interest of research and behavior modification in the Learning Village, financially and administratively. (3) The ideals and original objectives have been sacrificed under the dollar sign. (4) The information pool has become closed and circular from which no new ideas can come and therefore no alternative lifestyle."

These people had won their point on the "snowmobile issue" but were resigning anyway. Other factors were entering in. I believe that, although these people were sincere in their ecological opinions, the underlying purpose of raising the issue was to bring to a head the differences between the older and the younger groups. They were dissatisfied because some of the older people had more power and more money and they wanted to express their dissatisfaction. Even when they won their point, they went on to make an issue of it. Some of these same people had, a few months before, listed their favorite toys on the questionnaire. Now they were against toys. Some of these same people, for one reason or another, had fought competitively within the organization for positions of power. Now they were against undemocratic organizations.

The fault was neither with the young nor the old. These people had been working within a competitive situation and they were behaving competitively. I myself had help create and nurture that competitiveness. It had worked in setting up the lab and the Village. It was not working in setting up the community.

UP FROM THE ASHES

While the dissention continued on its own momentum and people gradually left, the community continued to develop. We received a letter from Wendy and Ed Kugler, two people with a background in educational testing. They were interested in organic gardening and, with their son Lenny, wanted to move onto the property. They arrived at Lake Village early in the summer and lived in their trailer. They took charge of the garden, worked hard, and have produced some beautiful vegetables.

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During the year a beginning had been made in working toward communal child care. A group of parents who worked in the corporation developed a system in which responsibility for the children rotated from person to person on weeknights. Initially seven parents and nine children were involved. Each school night the children would go and stay at the home of the parent who had "kid night."

Recently, Carm and Rob bought a small house on the same lake as the property. Carole, myself, our three children and Lenny have moved into the farm house on the property. The child care group continues, but the children stay at the farm house every night. The adult "in charge" stays with them.

In addition, we are beginning to prepare communal meals. Six days a week the person "in charge," often with the help of the older children and other friends, prepares the meals. The children and their parents all eat together. All the children and adults help in cleaning up. At present, the adult participants are Carmen and Rob Hren, Wendy and Ed Kugler, myself and Carole Ulrich, and Linda Brand who, like Carm and Rob, lives off the property, but spends a lot of time there. The children involved are Lisa Brand, three; Liz Hren, four; Krissy Ulrich, six; Doug Hren, eight; Traci Ulrich, nine; Tommy Ulrich, eleven; and Lenny Kugler, twelve.

In the child-care group there has, so far, been relatively little conflict. It is a group of people working together on an egalitarian basis toward common goals. Although it will undoubtedly change in its make up, it will probably form the core of the future community. Although we failed to transfer the structure of the Behavior Research and Development Center to the community, we seem to be succeeding a little better as we let the community evolve its own structure. We are involved in a shaping, rather than a transfer procedure. I personally hope that many of the people that were alienated by our earlier attempts to work toward the community will ultimately find a place in its new structure. To some extent, people are feeling better now and are coming back together. I hope the trend continues, since I and the community have benefited in many ways from the work and the ideas of these people. In my mind, even when things were rough, they never really left the community. Given my definition of community, or behavioral family, they never will . . . . they can't; they are my friends.

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Many of the people in the community grew up under the conditions that many communities seek to recreate. They lived on farms; they grew their own food; they had no plumbing or electricity. Others grew up in urban areas, some in affluent homes. Those of us who lived without technology in the past may be more able to live without it than those who did not. Nevertheless we are not anxious to give up those things that really have made our lives easier. Nor are we anxious to give up the things that make our lives more enjoyable.

Yet we have all read Paul Ehrlich's (1971) predictions of some of the disasters that could occur in an overpopulated world. We have read Barry Commoner's (1971) descriptions of how technology has headed in the wrong direction. We have read *Limits to Growth*, the study commissioned by the Club of Rome (Meadows *et al.*, 1972). That report predicts that, if no major change occurs in man's behavior toward his physical, economic or social environment, a general disaster will occur in the first half of the twenty-first century. Among other things, the disaster will be marked by a rapid increase in the death rate and by depletion of unrenewable natural resources. Furthermore, the report's predictions suggest that controlling any one aspect of man's self-destructive behavior will not be sufficient. All must be controlled. Population must be stabilized, consumption per capita must be stabilized, and pollution must be reduced and stabilized at that level. All this must be done by the year 2000.

The ecologists have done a good job of calling attention to the problem and suggesting some behaviors that will lead to survival. However, in addition to knowing what people *should* do, we must find ways of getting them to do it. The management of ecological behavior is the weak link in the plan for survival. Ecologists, to a degree, have attended to the techniques needed to produce good ecological behavior. They have suggested placing high deposits on returnable bottles (and, of course, using only returnable bottles). They have emphasized that the cost of disposing of or recycling an item should be included in its initial price. Both of these are response-cost techniques.

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The current controversy between Paul Ehrlich and Barry Commoner has dramatized the fact that there is little agreement on how to effect changes in ecological behavior. Paul Ehrlich has focused his attention on the straightforward use of consequences to control ecological behavior. He frequently suggests positive consequences. In fact, the revised edition of *The Population Bomb* includes a short section entitled "Positive Reinforcement". It suggests writing letters to politicians and industries that move in the right direction, working politically for environmentally conscious politicians, and buying products of companies that exhibit improvements in their behavior.

Some of Ehrlich's suggestions have been more controversial. In *The Population Bomb*, Ehrlich supports Senator Packwood's proposal to eliminate income tax deductions for the third or fourth (and nth) child. This program essentially relys on a relatively trivial punitive consequence to control behavior, without attacking the behavior's basic causes. People do not have more than two children in order to receive tax exemptions. They have them because they have two girls and want a boy; or because they are uninformed about the world population problem; or because they hold certain religious beliefs; or because they slip up in contraception; or because they are ignorant of contraception; or because children are extremely reinforcing to them, relative to whatever reinforcers they give up in order to care for children. These basic causes of excessive procreation must be attacked if it is to be controlled. In fact, Senator Packwood's proposal may be a good idea; it may, as Ehrlich suggests, accurately represent both a realistic public policy and the fact that excessive children exact a cost from society in general. It would not, however, contribute much to the solution of the population problem.

Some of Ehrlich's proposals for controlling population in underdeveloped countries are even more controversial. Commoner ascribes the following quote to "those in the United States who see in world population growth the single most powerful threat to survival:"

> We [the United States] should: Withhold all aid from a country with an expanding population unless that nation convinces

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us that it is doing everything possible to limit its population. . . . Extreme political and economic pressure should be brought on any country or international organization impeding a solution to the world's most pressing problem. If some of these measures seem repressive, reflect on the alternatives. (p. 241)

I presume the writer was Ehrlich. Again, as Commoner suggests, Ehrlich's suggestion does not deal with the factors basically responsible for a high birth rate. In contrast, Commoner urges as a solution:

. . . improvement of living conditions, urgent efforts to reduce infant mortality, social security measures, and the resultant effects on desired family size, together with personal, voluntary contraceptive practice. (p. 242)

Commoner does deal with basic factors. However, it seems to me, although I'm a neophyte in the field, that what is needed is a combination of both approaches. It is hard to see how we can possibly get control of infant mortality in underdeveloped countries at the present birth rate and maintain control until the "demographic transition" to a lower birth rate has taken place. It may be necessary to impose consequences that will quickly lower the birth rate in order to effect the long-term, more acceptable solution. Also it may be possible that the standard of living necessary to keep the birth rate voluntarily at ZPG (by providing attractive alternative reinforcers) may involve a level of per capita consumption that would be unsupportable. Indeed, the per capita consumption today in the U. S. is unsupportable. Some artificial consequences may be needed to tip the balance.

This conflict between Ehrlich and Commoner personifies the conflict that we feel in setting up our community. We want to make the changes in our lives that will contribute to long-term survival. However, we would like to make these changes by finding truly reinforcing alternatives to behaviors that are destructive to the environment. We are reluctant to impose on ourselves systems of bonuses or fines, but we hope we would use them if that were the only choice. To the degree that we can find solutions for ourselves, we will be able to suggest solutions for others.

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IMMEDIATE VS. DISTANT CONSEQUENCES

In attempting to make our community ecologically sound, we are faced with a continual interplay between immediate consequences that accrue to us as individuals and distant consequences that accrue, not only to us, but to the rest of humanity as well. As the *Limits to Growth* report points out, people tend to be controlled principally by events close to them in space and time. Events that occur in one's neighborhood or home are far more effective than events that occur in a country on the other side of the world. Events that will occur a century from now are far less effective than those that will occur next week. Behaviorists, of course, have often pointed out that distant consequences are relatively ineffective in controlling behavior. Although experiments have not dealt with hundred-year spans of time, they have shown immediate reinforcement to be more potent, in general, than delayed reinforcement.

Since immediate and distant consequences often conflict, we must find a way of resolving them. Two approaches seem possible. First we can try to make distant consequences more salient in controlling our behavior. So far our attempts along this line are no different from the ecologists'; they consist mostly of verbal behavior. We read books about future consequences and discuss and reiterate them. It may be possible in the future to do a better job of meshing these reminders with our environment. Maybe signs could be put around the community. For example, some of us still ride motorcycles, for pleasure, on roads. We might put signs on the motorcycles reading something like:

••• RIDE A HORSE INSTEAD •••

Motorcycles cause air pollution

—They spew out exhaust

—The factories that make them pollute the air

Motorcycles cause noise pollution

Motorcycles consume natural resources

—They burn oil

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—They are constructed of iron, chrome and other irreplaceable natural resources

We might also translate distant consequences into immediate ones, a well-known self-control procedure. We may agree to raise the immediate response cost of riding motorcycles. For example, a ride on a motorcycle might cost $3.00/hour in donations to the Environmental Defense Fund. This cost may also remind people that motorcycle riding "costs" the environment.

We can use our knowledge of distant consequences to make major decisions that will preclude unsound behavior. There is a motorboat in one of the barns. In the spring it was not put in the water and has not been used.

A second approach to conflict between immediate and distant consequences would be to find alternative behaviors that are reinforced both by immediate and by distant consequences. At Rob's suggestion, the community bought some horses and ponies. Riding the horses and ponies does provide an alternative to riding motorbikes. A canoe, a rubber raft and two sail boats provide alternatives to motorboat riding and water skiing.

We would also like to discover what compromises can comfortably be made that will maximize present reinforcement without seriously damaging the future. As I've said, we're not ready to give up all modern technology. We *like* motorcycles, snowmobiles and water skiing. We *like* automatic washers, paper plates and plastic bags. We are dependent on automobiles. We want privacy and space of our own. We'd like to see if it's possible to keep some of the advantages of modern technology and still avoid some of the ultimate dangers.

In one way or another, we hope eventually to teach ourselves better ecological behavior. For now, let me run through some of the areas of concern and describe what we are (or aren't) doing about them:

Procreation

As I've mentioned earlier, few if any of the people in our group have an overwhelming desire to have more children, and quite a few of us have been sterilized. Others express an interest in becom-

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ing sterilized. No one has objections to either birth control or abortion. We are absolutely in line with people advocating zero population growth.

The consequences probably maintaining this adaptive behavior are the presence of sufficient children in the group, the assurance that they will probably survive, and the fact that our lives are full of reinforcers that do not involve having more children. These are very similar to the consequences Commoner has suggested for a permanent solution to overpopulation problems.

Housing

At present we are using living space efficiently. Krissy and Traci share a room; Wendy and Ed share the trailer; the rest of us have a room of our own in the house. The kitchen and living room are used communally. Carole and I wanted to build a house for each of us. Building codes stated that the minimum size of a house must be 800 square feet. Besides being expensive, 800 square feet per person represents an enormous waste of living space. Now we are planning to build a duplex that will total a little over 1200 feet. Carole and Krissy are planning on moving into one part of it. I will either move into the other part or stay with the rest of the kids in the main house.

We will still have more private space per person than many communities. Although people recognize that sharing space is a good idea, they are not, at least right now, willing to live under those conditions. When I proposed building a large structure with rooms for individuals, I couldn't find anyone willing to move in. Dormitory sleeping arrangements would be out of the question for most of us. The simple fact is that the individuals involved in our community have a burning desire for privacy and can afford to buy this privacy in the outside world. This is probably one consequence of trying to build a community out of people who are not under one sort of extreme deprivation or another. The forces acting on them are not great enough to compel them to make huge sacrifices.

Hopefully as we live together on the property we will find ourselves able to live with less private space. In the meantime, we feel we must grow in the direction of separate units if we are to grow at all.

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Food

Food tastes in our group range from kids' taste for bologna sandwiches to some adults' tastes for Coke and potato chips and good restaurants to Wendy and Ed's taste for lightly seasoned, organic, primarily vegetable food. At our communal meals the person who cooks determines what the group will eat, although people do try to accommodate Wendy and Ed as much as possible.

For their part, Wendy and Ed have been trying to introduce us to "natural" foods. Wendy makes breakfast for the kids. Some of them don't like whole grain bread, so she's putting jam on it for now and will gradually fade it out. I don't know how far our tastes will change, but we do have the resources available to change them.

Farming Techniques

Last summer, Rob arranged for about 45 acres of our land to be planted in field corn on a share cropping basis. The fields were sprayed with herbicide. Chemical fertilizer, but no insecticide, was used. The result of this farming will be around 4500 bushels of corn and $4500. Of this, the community gets one-third, netting us around $1500. In the garden, Wendy and Ed put in hours of back-breaking work spreading manure, tilling it in, spreading organic mulch, and planting a cover crop. The result was, as I've mentioned, a large quantity of very good vegetables which have been more a source of pleasure than of income.

Rob, as I've said, works for Upjohn as a farm technician. Although to strict, doctrinaire organic gardeners he is a member of the enemy camp, he is thoughtful in his use of farm chemicals. For example, Rob says that the problems associated with high nitrogen fertilizers result from applying to the soil more nitrogen than the soil particles can accommodate. When all the nitrogen is balanced with soil systems, leaching into the soil water is at a minimum. Virtually all of the fertilizer nitrogen is in the form which plants consume and virtually all of the nitrogen is eventually consumed by the soil systems. In applying fertilizer to the land, Rob obtained a soil analysis and from that determined the amount of nitrogen to be applied.

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The correct use of chemical fertilizer sounds very simple when Rob describes it. Why, then, do some farmers use excess fertilizer? Rob says that once he sent identical soil samples to the County Extension Service and to a commercial fertilizer manufacturer. The manufacturer recommended applying *three times* the amount of fertilizer as recommended by the extension service. Some farmers, says Rob, are too susceptible to fertilizer salesmen.

Organic gardeners also object to chemical fertilizers on the grounds that they do not return organic matter to the soil. Rob points out that, with modern harvesting methods, most of the plant is returned to the soil. For example, the machine that harvests corn even shells it in the field. All of the plant, except for the kernels, is returned.

Rob says that the herbicide is safe and that, without it, the yield would practically be cut in half. To us that would essentially mean no yield at all, since we couldn't find anyone willing to share crop on that basis.

We have in our group members of both sides of the current farming controversy, but they seem to get along quite well. Rob respects the willingness of Wendy and Ed to work hard growing things. Wendy and Ed have found Rob to be a helpful source of advice on matters such as cover crops. They feel he is conservative and sensible in his use of chemicals. Perhaps the gap between the organic gardener and the commercial farmer doesn't have to be as wide as it now seems to be.

Entertainment Media

We have two stereos and a TV. We make no attempt to cut ourselves off from the world. In fact, we tend to watch TV relatively little, because other attractive alternatives (e.g. recreational activities) are available to us.

Conveniences

We have a power lawnmower, a rototiller, a stove, a refrigerator, and a dishwasher. We use all of them except the dishwasher. We do dishes by hand to cut down on our use of water and detergent. Obviously we have plumbing, but we don't flush the toilet too often.

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Waste—and Waste Disposal

We use paper plates and cups in mob scenes, but try to avoid them. We do use plastic bags. We separate our garbage into that which goes into the compost heap, that which gets burned, and that which gets hauled away. We burn for economic expedience. The compost heap was introduced by Wendy and Ed.

Recreational Vehicles

By now the community's approach to recreational vehicles has probably become apparent. We have a policy against using vehicles with internal combustion engines on the property or on the lake. Sometimes some of us ride motorcycles other places for pleasure, but for the most part they are used simply as a means of transportation that saves gas. We are attempting to substitute horseback riding, sailing and ice skating for the more damaging recreational activities.

I would like to see us consider controlling our use of recreational vehicles through some sort of gasoline point system. Each of us would be allotted so many gallons of gas per year for recreation. It could be spent riding a snowmobile or a motorcycle, or driving to Chicago or Detroit for the weekend. Of course, we would still refrain from the more destructive use of vehicles, as in wild life areas.

Detergents, Soap, etc.

We use detergent for washing dishes. Right now our washer and dryer are being repaired and we send our clothes to a laundry that undoubtedly uses detergent.

Clothing

Barry Commoner has suggested that people should move away from synthetic clothing and instead wear cotton or wool clothing unironed. I guess we wear what we have. Many wear cotton Levis and t-shirts. Most of us have pretty much stopped buying new clothes.

Automobiles

We have, among us, two compact cars, a very old station wagon, an old truck, a new land rover, and a large van. At present each of

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us who works outside the property drives a separate car. Eventually we hope to cut down the number of cars per person. If we can move the Learning Village and possibly the lab out to the property, it will make cars less necessary.

In general, we are trying to consume less and to live less harmfully. We haven't made much progress in sharing those things we consider necessities such as living space and cars. We are sharing our reinforcers, though, and each of us is buying less. We are still a long way from an ecologically sound way of life. We may ultimately become convinced that we must make some sacrifices that we are at present unwilling to make. But this is a pretty realistic picture of how things stand now.

IN SHORT

In short, I originally hoped to build a community from a homogeneous department of psychology at Western Michigan University. When this failed, I tried to build a community from a group of people who had worked together in programs of aggression research and early childhood education. This second attempt caused fantastic magnification of the tensions already existing within the group. The tensions reached a critical level and the group dissolved. At the same time another group was forming, mostly around their own child care needs. This last group seems to be developing into a more stable community. However, we must learn to accept the inevitability of change in communes. There is not one thing in the world that stays the same for long.

Those of us now involved in the community hope, in the future, to continue working toward alternatives to the typical American nuclear family. We want to continue and expand our experiment with different patterns of child care. By providing alternatives, we want to do away with parent-child relationships that are based on compulsion. Similarly, we hope adults will be more flexible in their relationships with others and not rely on aversive stimuli to enforce behavior that limits the other individual.

The above is a pretty straightforward summary of what has gone on so far in building the Lake Village community. A less explicit, but very accurate summary was recently made by Peter Rabbit,

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founder of Drop City and presently a resident of Libre, a community in Colorado. Pete's remark, during a recent visit to Lake Village was, "You look to me like a group of people trying to come down from a middle-class trip." He was right.

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I feel that they, in one way or another, were most closely associated with the critical events which surrounded the establishment of the Lake Village Experimental Living Project. Others who also could be listed prefer to remain anonymous.

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2. Some of the people involved in the experimental living project wish to disassociate themselves from the project or from parts of the project. Although I would prefer to credit these people they have asked that their names be withheld.

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Appendix A

QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE EXPERIMENTAL COMMUNITY

• • •

2. Do you think an architect should be consulted before this project is started?

__22__ Yes __5__ No (check one) __1__ ?

3. How would you like ownership arrangements made for the following items: Place "c" in blank if community owned, "g" if private sub-group or family owned, "i" if individually owned, or "n" if not interested. (Place more than one letter in blank when appropriate, for example, __i c__ kitchen if you wish to have your own facilities *and* community facilities available.)

Totals:
630—community owned
282—individually
97—group owned
51—not interested
26—?

_____ dwelling
_____ land
_____ food
_____ bedrooms
_____ kitchen
_____ living room
_____ study/den
_____ library
_____ recreation room
_____ utility room (washer/dryer/sewing, etc.)
_____ garage
_____ workshop (wood/metal)
_____ tools
transportation:
_____ pick-up truck
_____ van
_____ standard car

_____ T.V.
_____ telephone
_____ radio
_____ furniture
_____ art studio
_____ recreational equipment
specify:
_____
_____
_____
_____ clothing
_____ musical instruments
_____ stereo systems
_____ stereo records/tapes
_____ toys
_____ other:
_____

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_____ compact car		_____
_____ sports car	See Table A1	_____
_____ motorcycle	for further	_____
_____ bicycle	breakdown	_____
_____ motor boat		_____
_____ sail boat		_____

Table A1. Results from Item 3

dwelling	16		2		1	1	2		1
land	22	1	2		1		1		2
food	14	3	1	2	4	1	3		
bedrooms	7	3	16		2				
kitchen	10	3		2	9		2		
livingroom		5	4		2		2		
study/den	12	3	7		2		1	2	1
library	23				2		1	1	1
recreation rm.	26				1				1
utility room	25	1			1				1
garage	26		1						1
workshop	27								1
tools	18		2		6		1	1	
pick-up truck	25						2	1	
van	25						2	1	
standard car	12	2	4			1	1	2	1
compact car	8	2	5		2	1	1		1
sports car	5	1	7		3	1	1	9	1
motorcycle	7		12		3	1		5	
bicycle	11		9		2		1	5	
motor boat	15		2		2		1	8	
sail boat	18		1		3		1	5	
TV	7	4	4		6		2	3	2
telephone	11	6	4		5	1		1	
radio	9	5	5		5		2	1	1
furniture	10	5	6		4		3		
art studio	20						1	5	2
recreation equip.	19			2	2				5
clothing	6		19		2				1
musical instr.	10		8		7			3	
stereo systems	3	3	8		9	1	3		1

00062

records/tapes	5	4	10		8		1		
toys	10		5	2	7			3	1
	c	g	i	cg	ci	gi	cgi	n	?

c—community owned
g—sub-group or family owned
i—individually owned
n—not interested
?—no response or uninterpretable

4. Have you ever lived with other, non-related people before?
   How many times? _____ range 1 = 16
   How many people? _____ range 1 = 500,000
   For what period of time? _____
   How long ago? _____
5. If you chose an individual dwelling, what rooms would you use?
   Data not interpretable
   _____ 1 bedroom _____ 2 bedrooms _____ 3 bedrooms _____ more than
   _____ recreation room
   _____ kitchen
   _____ living room
   _____ dining room
   _____ den
   _____ garage
   _____ study
   _____ guest room
   _____ utility room
   _____ other (specify)
6. How much would this house cost to build (estimate)?
   $\bar{X}$ = $13,866 Total = $208,000
7. How much would this house cost to furnish and equip (estimate)? $\bar{X}$ = $2,584 Total = $31,002
8. Including any other details, lawn, etc., what would the total cost be (estimate)? $\bar{X}$ = $19,558 Total cost for housing 12 people = $234,700
9. Which of the following variables would you want to consider as important (*not* necessary or sufficient) if you were to exclude anyone from membership in the community?
   11 Not residing on community premises
   0 Sex
   4 Too old: how old? _____

00063

2	Too young: how young? _____
0	Married
0	single
0	race
5	creed (including atheism)
8	life style (hippies, straight, middle class, other _____ (circle which)
2	non-membership in Corporation (not including relatives of members)
5	uncool
2	use of drugs (illegal)
2	use of alcohol
0	use of cigarettes
7	political ideology (which? _____)
0	too wealthy (how rich? _____)
2	too poor (how poor? _____)
2	social background (what? _____)
9	health (what types of disabilities or diseases, physical and "mental"? _____)
1	family size (what size? _____)
1	lack of education? (how low? _____)
4	other (which? basic philosophy; misuse of property; aversive people; views on drugs

10. If you wish to make your services available to the community in exchange for services from others, what would you be willing to provide? (This does not include material items, but rather skills, labor, etc.)

13	child care	7	mechanics
9	cleaning (inside)	18	teaching
12	inside handywork	12	farming
15	food preparation (nutrition, procure.)	12	grounds keeping
17	management (accounting, supervision, social engineering, etc.)	8	recreation supervisor
11	building (outside)	2	medical services
		0	legal services

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8	plumbing	2	other (specify:)
5	electrical		sewing
8	rough carpentry		craft projects
16	painting		
5	masonry		

11. What services would you like to have provided? (Again, this does not include material items)

13	child care	19	mechanics
21	cleaning (inside)	15	teaching
15	inside handywork	13	farming
16	food preparation (nutrition, procure.)	18	grounds keeping
19	management (accounting, supervision, social engineering, etc.)	13	recreation supervisor
		21	medical services
16	building (outside)	22	legal services
21	plumbing	3	other (specify:)
19	electrical		travel organizer
16	rough carpentry		any I may need
13	painting		not specified
14	masonry		

12. How many hours per week would you be willing to work for the community, in addition to your present regular job and other activities? (round to nearest hour)

$\bar{X} = 11$ hours range = 0 to 20

Total man hours per week = 294.5

13. Do you think everyone should work the same number of hours in the community regardless of the type of job performed?

4 yes 22 no

Why? (be brief) _____

Some reasons given for everyone *not* working the same number of hours

12—aversiveness and importance of task should be taken into account

1—same number of hours would take away initiative to do additional work

00065

1—everyone will contribute as much as he can
2—if contributing substantial finances, might not have to work as much
1—some people have more responsibilities in their own social environment, e.g. children

Some reasons given for everyone working the same number of hours
1—my time is as valuable as anyone else's
1—equalization
1—community should require some basic minimum

14. Do you think the community should hire outside labor for certain jobs or keep all community labor within community hands (excepting non-available specialized skills, e.g., architecture, construction, medical services, etc.)?

5 hire from outside 21 keep within community hands

15. What behavior of individuals do you think the community should control? (you may check more than one)

4 None
24 Community work assignments
14 social behavior (aversive) between non-related members
6 social behavior (aversive) between related community members
7 social behavior of community members with members outside (the law, etc.)
8 any behavior deemed necessary to control
23 control of use of community facilities
5 other (specify): taking care of property; interference with family privacy; unnecessary for the community minded; behavior detrimental to community; control through recognition of responsibility

16. Of which methods for control of the above checked would you approve?

2 none (no contingencies)
4 Fines—response cost
11 Revoking privileges (form of time out)
0 Time out room

00066

3	Ostracizing–social extinction
0	shit list
13	differential money for appropriate behavior
20	differential privileges for appropriate behavior
8	no aversive control
26	verbal feedback
1	extra work
0	other (specify): _____

17. List your 10 most powerful reinforcers in the order of importance (e.g., food, travel, sex, alcohol, drugs, music, etc.). Assess them by how much behavior you engage in to obtain them.
    1. See below for details.
    2.
    3.
    4.
    5.
    6.
    7.
    8.
    9.
    10.
18. List your 10 most powerful negative events, in order of aversiveness (e.g., mosquitos, bitching, non-return of borrowed items, noise, etc.) Assess them by how much behavior you engage in to escape or avoid their occurrence.
    1. See below for details.
    2.
    3.
    4.
    5.
    6.
    7.
    8.
    9.
    10.

RESULTS FROM ITEMS 17 & 18

key to ratios e.g. 6/5 — 6 people rated the listed event number 5 on their scale of 10

POSITIVE EVENTS*

close interpersonal relationships	6/1 2/2
travel	2/1 1/2 2/3 8/4 3/5 1/6 2/9
drugs	2/1 4/2 4/3 1/6 1/7 1/8 1/10
music	3/2 1/3 2/4 6/5 3/6 2/7 2/9 1/10

*only those events mentioned by four or more people are listed

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bicycling	2/2 1/4 1/5 1/7
solitude	1/3 3/7
food	2/1 2/2 1/3 1/4 2/5 4/6 2/7 2/8 1/9 1/10
sex	2/1 2/2 2/3 2/4 3/6 1/7 1/10
animals	2/6 2/8 2/10
books	1/2 1/4 1/5 2/7 1/8 2/9
out door rec.	3/4 1/5 3/8 1/9
money	1/1 1/2 1/6 1/10
social reinforcement	1/4 3/5 2/6
leisure time	1/3 1/4 2/5

NEGATIVE EVENTS*

bitching	3/1 3/2 2/3
crowds	1/2 1/6 2/7
insects	1/2 1/5 4/6
aversive control	2/2 1/3 1/5 2/7 2/8 1/9 1/10
restrictions	1/5 1/6 1/7 1/8

19. How should *major* community decisions be made (e.g., should the land be farmed?)		20. How should day-to-day community decisions be made? (e.g., tomorrow's menu)
1	Term-elected committee members	2
10	All members except children under _____ years, equal vote	0
2	All members, *differentially weighted* vote, except children under _____ years.	0
1	Permanent committee of community members	1
1	Term-elected executive, with term-elected assistants.	0
1	Permanent specialists in each major area of community need (finance, food, education, activities, building, etc.)	1
6	Term-elected specialists in each major area of community need.	17
_____	Other– (specify) _____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

00068

21. Which of these factors (if any) should weight, limit or eliminate a member's vote?

8 Age (which? _____)
2 Financial investment in community (how much?)_____
6 Certain topics only open to vote by certain members (e.g., child care by people who have children) and the results can only affect these people, excluded voters not affected
6 none
1 Other (which? specialist in given field to be voted on

_____

_____

22. How should the community be financed (input)?

5 All salary from members goes into community fund, and community provides all goods and services to each member
4 All members pay a percentage of the salary to community as dues
3 All members pay equal dues to community
1 All community funds come from donations from members and friends
9 All members pay *graduated* percentage of salary to community as dues higher rate for higher salaries (à la I.R.S.)
2 Other (specify) depends on how things are paid for; individuals pay for living quarters

23. How should the community goods and services be distributed (output)?

8 To each according to his needs
8 To each according to his work in the community
1 To each according to his financial contribution (dues) to the community.
0 To each according to his position in the community
3 To all equally
0 Other (specify)_____

24. List the 3 major reasons you would like to join an experimental community; "If, . . ."

00069

17—experiment (form of)
15—better life

10—close interpersonal relationships
9—economics

5—end daily hassles
5—be near friends

7—other

25. List the 3 major reasons you would not consider joining an experimental community; "If, . . ."
15—incompatibility
12—too much control

6—reduction in reinforcements
5—economy

4—loss of privacy
3—too much work

3—chance of economic failure
1—children

• • •

28. What size community would you consider to be ideal?
0—a.) less than ten persons
1—b.) 10-20 persons
4—c.) 21-30 persons
6—d.) 31-40 persons
5—e.) 41-50 persons
7—f.) 51-100 persons
1—g.) 100-200 persons
1—h.) 200-500 persons
0—i.) over 500 persons

*29. In reference to question #17 above, star (*) those most powerful reinforcers you would allow to be brought under contingency control by the community for performing community duties, i.e. "if you do x for the community (clean), you can then do your reinforcers (ride bike).

*29. (b.) Circle those reinforcers in question #17 that you would totally sacrifice for community goals.

*Data too complicated to easily compile.

00070

•29. (c.) Underline those reinforcers in question #17 that you would absolutely not allow to come under community control or ownership.

30. (a.) In reference to question #22, and if community ideas turn out in a way agreeable to you, then how much money would you be willing to initially invest, $ 72,621 ; and how much would you be willing to invest monthly in the community? $ 4,025 ; What % of your income does this represent? X – 56 % range – 10 to 205%

30. (b.) What material objects would you be willing to give to the community for use or sale? (e.g. refrigerators, furniture, lawn mowers, vehicles, etc.)

5–?

1. 5–everything I own
   5–have nothing
2. 9–furniture
   3–kitchen things
3. 8–car
   4–TV
4. 2–stereo equipment
   2–clothes
5. 1–bicycle
6. 1–yard equipment
   1–refrigerator
   1–washer dryer
7. 1–store
   2–sewing machines
8. 2–bikes
   1–toys
9. 1–truck
   1–books
10. 1–vacuum

30. (c.) If you decided to leave the community, what method would you agree upon as a fair exchange for the investments you made in the community?

2–a.) no return
4–b.) community stock
5–c.) general community escrow fund
3–d.) return of all cash and material objects
11–e.) other (specify)_____

31. Rate yourself on a scale from 1 to 10 regarding the importance you place on privacy in each of the following areas: (1 = unimportant; 10 = essential) :

Sound insulation
Visual insulation
Sexual behavior (others knowing)
Drug behavior (others knowing)
Insulation from unwanted communication

00071

Private property (keep from community)
Insulation of visitors from community interaction
Personal business (others knowing)
See Figure A1 for bar graphs

32. (a.) Assuming a community compatible with your goals how soon could or would you be ready to physically move in?
No longer applicable _____ days

32. (b.) Would you be willing to move into the present house on the land within the month of June?
_____ yes _____ no Why? no longer applicable

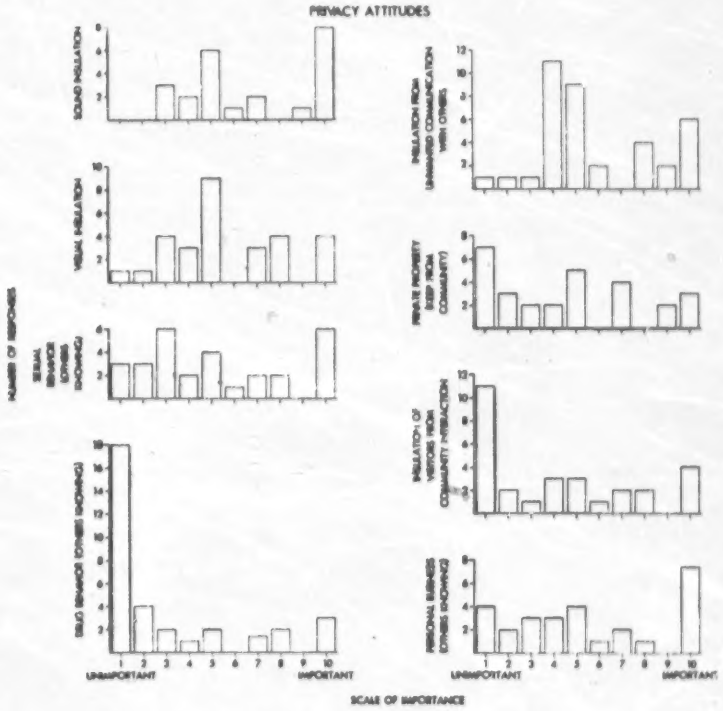

Figure A1. Results from item 31 (on privacy).

00072

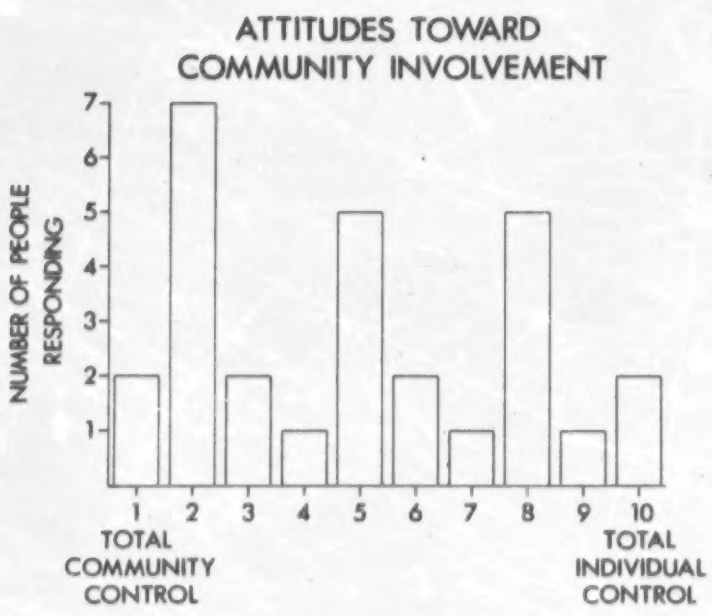

Figure A2. Results from item 35 (on community control).

33. If "no" to last question, what do you suggest be done with the house on the land? No longer applicable

34. Have you ever performed volunteer work (not directly related to your job) for any community agency or activity such as Kal-Cap, PTA, little league, etc. 15 yes 13 no
If no, why? _____
If yes, what types of work, where, when and for how long? _____
Why? _____

35. Rate yourself on this scale from 1 to 10, as to your attitudes toward community involvement. 1 = total community control of all behavior and property; 10 = total individual control of each's behavior and property

PROPERTY: See Figure A2 for bar graph

00073

total community control total individualized control

36. If a friend asked you to recommend reading material on "experimental" communities, what would you recommend (e.g. Plato, Moore, Skinner, etc.)

_____ Wouldn't recommend reading material

_____ Would recommend which

17—Skinner
2—Plato
2—Moore
1—Marx
1—Kibbutz packet
1—1984
1—Electric Kool Aid Acid Test
1—M. Israel
1—Token Economy
1—Alternative Life Styles
1—Whole Earth Catalogue
1—Oak Leaves
1—Stranger in a Strange Land

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